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CORTOIS and VILAIN

A Study of the Distinctions Made Between Them by the French and Provençal Poets of the 12th, 13th and 14th Centuries

BY

STANLEY LEMAN GALPIN

A THESIS PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF YALE UNIVERSITY IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

1904

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CORTOIS and VILAIN

I.

INTRODUCTION.[1]

In southern France, as is well known, there developed in the Middle Ages a refined aristocratic society such as for a time was not to be found elsewhere, and which has had a permanent influence upon the manners and modes of thought of all Europe. Long immunity from wars had brought to this region a season of prosperity during which the arts of peace were cultivated. Brilliant festivals had taken the place of warlike preparations, and songs of sentiment were heard instead of songs of battle.[2] An important result of this radical change of activity and interest from the things of war to those of peace was the social emancipation of woman, due also in large measure to the influence of the cult of the Virgin Mary. Leaving the inferior position which she had long occupied, and accorded a degree of personal freedom hitherto unknown to

[1]A portion of the expense of printing this thesis has been borne by the Modern Language Club of Yale University from funds placed at its disposal by the generosity of Mr. George E. Dimock of Elizabeth, New Jersey, a graduate of Yale in the Class of 1874.

[2]Ferdinand Wolf in Stengel's *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen* LXXXVII, Marburg 1890, pp. 35-6.

her, and which has remained hers to the present time, owing to the lasting influence of mediæval Provençal culture, she stepped at once into the chief place in the new society. For a long period she was the centre of literary interest as the object of chivalric love, with which the poets of the twelfth century were mainly occupied, and which offered a welcome means of escape from a domestic life which must have been anything but ideal, in view of the fact that marriages under the feudal system were contracted for political purposes exclusively. Under the influence of the new social conditions a *commerce de courtoisie,* as Langlois has expressed it,[1] sprang up between the sexes.

A similar transformation took place in the aristocratic society of northern France after Louis VI had succeeded in overcoming the turbulent nobles and bringing his domain into a state of tranquility. This transformation was fostered by contact with the much more advanced civilization of Provence, a contact which was brought about by the Crusades, by the trouvères, who imitated the love-songs of the troubadours, and by the marriage of Louis VII with Eleanor of Poitou in 1137.[2]

The institution of the system of courtly love in the aristocratic society of France is of interest to us here chiefly because it emphasized the differences already existing under the feudal system between the condition of the noble and that of the peasant, and suggested to the poets comparisons between the two not already suggested by the feudal system. As was natural, these comparisons centered about the question of courtly love, and so the noble is represented to us as endowed with all the graces which should be found in a successful lover, while the *vilain,* or peasant, is pictured as lacking these graces and endowed with their opposites. The image of the *vilain* thus drawn is, of course, a greatly exaggerated one.[3]

Derived respectively from the Latin **cortensis* and **villanus,* the two terms *cortois* and *vilain* denoted originally in the vernacular two classes socially distinct. The *cortois* was the noble, inhabiting his château and there holding his court, or constituting one of the members of the court of a noble more powerful than himself. The term is thus used by Geffrei Gaimar in vv. 3617-20 of *Lestorie des*

[1] *Origines et Sources du Roman de la Rose,* p. 3.
[2] *Ibid.,* p. 4.
[3] See Gaston Paris in *Romania* xxiv, page 143.

Engles, where the expression *li curtais* is evidently equivalent to *cil de la curt*:

Et quant iloc tant en parlouent
Cil de la curt i repairouent:
Et li curtais ke la veaient
De sa belte mult bien disaient.

The term is also thus used by Wace, *Brut,* vv. 10008-19, with reference to those who frequented King Arthur's court:

N'estoit pas tenus por cortois
Escos, ne Bertons, ne François,
Normant, Angevin, ne Flamenc,
Ne Borgignon, ne Loherenc,
De qui que il tenist son feu
Des ocidant dusqu 'à Mont Geu,
Qui à la cort le roi n'alast,
Et qui od lui n'i sojornast,
Et qui n'avoient vestéure
Et contenance et arméure,
A la guise que cil estoient
Qui en la cort Artur servoient.

In *Jaufre,* Appel, *Prov. Chrest., St.* 3, vv. 56-58, we read that Brunissens' castle is inhabited by *cortois* young men. In vv. 1951-3 of the *Roman de Thèbes,* the word *cortois* is used of courtiers, members of a court:

Li chevalier et li borgeis
Et li vilain et li corteis
De traïson le rei blastengent.[1]

In vv. 263-6 of the lai of *Guingamor* the word *cortois* is used in the same sense:

Cil de la vile, li borjois,
Et li vilain et li cortois
Le convoiérent austresi
O grant dolor et o grant cri.

The *vilain,* on the other hand, was the peasant who cultivated the *villae* (agricultural districts) and inhabited the villages which grew up among them. Cf. Du Cange, *Glossarium*: *Villani dicti sunt a*

[1]Cf. the passage from the *Roman de Robert le Diable* quoted by Du Cange in his *Glossarium* under **corthesanus.*

villa, eo quod in villis commorentur. Also Jean de Condé, *Des Vilains et des Courtois,* vv. 14-15:

Il sont gent qui vilain ont non
Pour ce qu'en la ville demeurent.

This use is found in Marie de France, *Fables,* ix, v. 1: *Ci dit d'une suriz vilaine,* with which compare the title, *De mure urbano et mure silvestri,* and v. 9: *La suriz de ville demande.* The use of the term *vilain* to denote a distinct class in feudal society was retained throughout the middle ages and is so frequent in mediæval texts as to require no special illustration here.

The mediæval artistic poetry of northern France and Provence, both epic and lyric, composed primarily to be sung or recited at the courts of the nobles, was naturally biased in favor of the courtly class, and we are not surprised when we come to examine the characteristics assigned to this class by the mediæval poets to find that they are almost without exception favorable, and that the *vilain,* always an object of scorn to the nobles, is pictured as lacking all the qualities which the *cortois* is represented as possessing, and endowed with the opposites of these qualities. Jean de Condé sums up the attitude of the literature of the twelfth to fourteenth centuries toward the *cortois* and the *vilain* in *Des Vilains et des Courtois,* vv. 1-3:

Vilain et courtois sont contraire;
De l'un ne puet on bien retraire,
Et en l'autre n'a fors que bien.

The poets, in pursuance of their policy of flattering the courtly class, refer the origin and inspiration of *cortoisie* to God. *Ille et Galeron,* vv. 1618-20:

Et courtoisie vient de Dieu,
Et qui de par Dieu preuz devient
Courtoisie aime et si s'i tient.

Le Roman de la Rose, i p. 235:

Diex li cortois sans vilonie,
De qui muet toute cortoisie.

Having given a divine origin to *cortoisie,* the poets do not hesitate to represent the acts of the *vilain* as prompted by the devil. *Ille et Galeron,* vv. 1615-7:

Bien sai que del diable est plains
Qui pour se prouece est vilains;
Vilonie vient de vil lieu.

The *Dit sur les vilains,* vv. 83-88, assigns to the *vilain* a still less savory origin.

Many mediæval texts refer to the fact, undoubtedly true, that those who frequented the courts of the nobles acquired a degree of culture only there to be attained. Dante alludes to this fact in his definition of *cortesia* in the *Convito, tr.* ii, *c.* 11: *Cortesia e onestade è tutt' uno: e perocchè nelle corti anticamente le virtudi e li belli costumi s'usavano (siccome oggi s'usa il contrario), si tolse questo vocabolo dalle corti; e fu tanto a dire cortesia, quanto uso di corte.*[1] Thus Wace, *Brut,* vv. 10016-9 (quoted above), and vv. 10020-5:

> De pluisors terres i venoient
> Cil qui pris et honor querroient.
> Tant por oïr ses cortesies,
> Tant por véir ses mananties,
> Tant por conoistre ses barons,
> Tant por aveir ses rices dons.

Wace, *Rou,* vv. 2166-7:

> Richart, lur auoe, ensemble od sei merra,
> En la curt od sun filz curteisie aprendra.[2]

In a similar manner, the word *vilenie* was used to denote any action or personal characteristic considered by courtly poets as worthy of a *vilain,*[3] from whose appellation they derived it. The poets occasionally declare the reverse of the real process to be true, thus casting a still greater slur upon the objects of their scorn. *Le Flabel d'Aloul, Fabliaux* i 24, vv. 406-7:

> Par droit avez vilain à non,
> Quar vilain vient de vilonie.

Des Vilains et des Courtois, vv. 20-21:

> Bien nous monstre raisons et drois
> Que vilains vient de vilenie.

From the enjoyment of the privileges of courtly life the *vilain* was excluded. *Thèbes,* vv. 4563-70:

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[1]Cf. Alwin Schultz, *Das Höfische Leben zur Zeit der Minnesinger,* vol. i, pp. 155-6.

[2]See also *Tyolet,* vv. 299-310; *Sept Sages,* vv. 441-6.

[3]Cf. Alwin Schultz, *loc. cit.*

Onques en cort a nesun rei
Ne veïstes tant gent conrei:
Tuit sont de maisniee escherie,
Que li dus ot tote norrie,
Treis mile fiz de vavasors
Et de barons et de contors;
N'en i ot un fil de vilain,
Ne qui fust nez de basse main.

The mere suggestion of the *vilain* was unwelcome at court. *Le Lai d'Aristote, Fabliaux* v 137, vv. 45-6:

Quar œvre où vilonie cort
Ne doit estre noncie à cort.

The *vilain's* fashion of speech was also out of place at court. Le Conte de Peitieu, Rayn. *Choix* v, p. 118:

E que s guart en cort de parlar
Vilanamens.

Even if permitted to associate with the *cortois,* it was impossible for the *vilain* to change his condition. Blondel de Néele, p. 40:

Mais ce m'en a doucement conforté
Qu'onques je ne vi courtoise vilaine.

Guillaume de Dole, vv. 584-5:

Que ja por nule segnorie
Nuls vilains n'iert se vilains non.

Le Roman de la Rose, i p. 122:

Vilains qui est cortois, c'est rage.[1]

The distinction between *cortois* and *vilain* having early become firmly established and developed, it was no longer necessary that a man should be a member of the courtly class in order to deserve the appellation *cortois,* it was enough that he should possess the qualities which the noble was supposed to possess. In the same manner any man, of whatsoever social rank, came to be termed *vilain* by the mediæval poets if his characteristics were those which courtly poetry had attributed to the *vilain.* The following passages will serve to show the confusion as to social status which arose

[1]See also *Dit sur les vilains,* vv. 8-18.

with the application of the two terms to all classes of society. Geffrei Gaimar, *Lestorie des Engles,* vv. 5504-6:

Uns hom qui amenout peissons
As gardeins long le mareis,
Fist ke prodom e ke curteis.

Wace, *Brut,* vv. 10779-81:

Plus erent cortois et vaillant,
Néis li povre païsant
Que chevalier en autres regnes.[1]

Perceval, v. 21653:

Moult estes vilains chevalier.[2]

The fact that the terms *cortois*[3] and *vilain* both substantive and adjective, and the abstract nouns *cortoisie* and *vilenie,* had come into general use to distinguish in regard to personal qualities rather than social rank is discussed at length by Jean de Condé in *Des Vilains et des Courtois.* He sums up his views on the subject in vv. 137-144:

Par tant qui bien dist et bien œvre
Et qui s'assent à la bonne œvre
Gentius et courtois est par droit,
Je le vous[4] affi ci endroit;
Et celui non de vilain done
Qui à vilounie abandone
Son cuer et le vuelt maintenir;
Devant tous l'i veul soustenir.

In the *Dit de Gentillece,* Jubinal, *Nouv. Rec.* ii, pp. 55-6, the poet enlarges upon the same conception of the *vilain* as

Li hom qui fet la vilonie,
Puisque li cuers s'i abandone.

This sentiment had already been voiced in *Li respit del curteis et del vilain,* strophe 43:

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[1]See also *Sept Sages,* vv. 2484-8; *Perceval,* vv. 24779-85; *De Florance et de Blanche Flor,* v. 95 and vv. 329-333.

[2]See also the following passages in which a knight is termed *vilain*: *L'Atre Perillous,* v. 3878; *Perceval,* vv. 16534-7; *Erec,* v. 198.

[3]It may be noted in passing that the word *gentile* seems to have assumed to a certain extent in Italian the rôle played by the word *cortois* in French.

[4]The text reads *vons.*

Nature mult ferm lie
Et moustre sa mestrie
La ou soun regne tient.
Ne blametz vilein mie,
S'il dit sa vileinie!
De nature li vient.
Frut preoue bien, de quel arbre il est.

It also appears in the *Roman de la Rose,* i p. 68:

Vilonnie fait li vilains.

The purpose of our study is to discover at what period the contrast between *cortois* and *vilain* begins to be made, to follow it down into the fourteenth century, and to ascertain in regard to what personal qualities or characteristics this contrast was made by the poets of northern France and Provence. Our surest evidence has been found in passages which declare that one who follows a certain line of conduct is *cortois,* or is *vilain* (substantive or adjective), as the case may be. Other passages of equal value state that *cortoisie,* or *vilenie,* consists in following a certain course of action. This direct evidence has been supplemented by indirect evidence from passages in which the quality or characteristic under consideration is closely associated with *cortoisie* or *vilenie; e.g. L'Atre Perillous,* vv. 6164-5, *Et si sai moult bien et si croi, Que estes cortois et vaillans,* in which *cortoisie* and valor are mentioned together, and the idea of the latter term is already connoted by the first, and more general, term.

I have divided the subject into sections, each one being devoted to the consideration of a quality or characteristic attributed to the *cortois* and of the opposite of this quality attributed to the *vilain,* and the sections have been arranged genetically so as to fall into two groups, sections III to XII inclusive dealing with those qualities which concern a man in his feudal relations, and sections XIII to XVIII inclusive with those which concern him as a lover. The inductions, viz., the statements of the qualities or characteristics of the *cortois* and *vilain* respectively, have been used as headings for the sections, and the material from which they have been drawn appears under each one, arranged logically rather than chronologically. The divisions will be found not to be always mutually exclusive, but they are as nearly as possible those suggested by the material upon which they are based.

II.

THE *CORTOIS* AND THE *VILAIN* ARE REPRESENTED AS POSSESSING OPPOSITE CHARACTERISTICS AS EARLY AS THE BEGINNING OF THE 12TH CENTURY AND AS LATE AS THE 14TH CENTURY.

Passages in which the *cortois* is set off against the *vilain* as his direct opposite begin to appear at a very early period in French and Provençal literature. The first instance I have been able to find appears in the *canso, Mout iauzens me prenc en amar,* written by Guilhem, comte de Peitieu, the first Provençal troubadour whose works have come down to us, and who reigned from 1087 to 1127. Appel, *Prov. Chrest., St.* 11, vv. 25-30:

Per son ioy pot malautz sanar
E per sa ira sas morir
E savis hom enfolezir
E belhs hom sa beutat mudar
E'l plus cortes vilaneiar
E'l totz vilas encortezir.

The first example I am able to quote in French dates from approximately the same period, and appears in the rhymed sermon *Grant mal fist Adam,* written in the first third of the 12th century. In the last two verses of strophe 30 contrast is made between wise and foolish, and between *corteis* and *vilain*:

Dunc puis jeo prover,
e raisun mostrer,
qu'il sunt mi proceain,
quant d'un sol lignage
sunt e fol e sage,
corteis e vilain.

Continuing in chronological order, an instance is found in *Quant l'aura doussa s'amarzis,* a *canso* written by the troubadour Cercamon, who flourished between the years 1120 and 1135. Appel, *Prov. Chrest., St.* 13, vv. 49-51:

Per lieys serai totz fals o fis,
o vertadiers o ples d'enian,
o totz vilas o totz cortes.

Jaufre Rudel, a troubadour who wrote in the period between the years 1130 and 1147, offers an example. Rayn. *Choix* iii, p. 95:

Quar ieu dels plus envilanitz
Cug que sion cortes leyau.

The *Roman de Troie,* written c. 1160-70, contains the next examples I have found in French. Vv. 5335-8:

Sa corteisie par fu tex,
Que cil de Troie et cil des Grex
Envers lui furent dreit vilain:
Ainz plus cortois ne menja pain.

Ibid., v. 10232:

Qu'el n'ert vilaine mès corteise.

Wace, in *Rou,* written 1160-1174, v. 2888, offers another example:

Cheualier(s) riche e poure, e vilain(s) e curteis.

Chrétien de Troies contrasts *vilain* and *cortois,* and *vilenie* and *cortoisie,* in two passages in his *Yvain,* written c. 1173. Vv. 31-32:

Qu'ancor vaut miauz, ce m'est a vis,
Uns cortois morz qu'uns vilains vis.

Ibid., vv. 2212-4:

Onques voir tant ne s'avilla
Qu'il deïst de vos vilenie
Tant com il a fet corteisie.

In vv. 5836-7 of his *Perceval,* written c. 1177, appears the same antithesis. Vv. 8377-84 of *Partonopeus de Blois,* written before 1188, imply that there is a greater distance between *vilenie* and *cortoisie* than there is from hell to heaven above. Returning to Provence, we find the antithesis between *cortois* and *vilain* in the writings of Pons de Capdueil (fl. 1180-1190), Bertran de Born (fl. 1156-1196), Rambaud de Vaqueiras (fl. 1180-1207), and N'Uc Brunet de Rodes (fl. c. 1190-1200). Pons de Capdueil, Rayn. *Choix* iii, p. 183:

Qu'el plus vilains es, quan vos ve,
Cortes, e us porta bona fe.

Bertran de Born, Rayn. *Choix* iv, p. 264:

Guerra fai de vilan cortes.

Rambaud de Vaqueiras, Rayn. *Choix* iii, p. 256;

E sai esser plazens et enois,
E vils e cars e vilas e cortes,
Avols e pros, e conosc mals e bes.

N'Uc Brunet de Rodes, quoted in the *Breviari d'Amor,* vv. 32533-5:

Atretan leu pot hom ab cortezia
Renhar qui sap et ab fahs avinens
Cum ab foldat ni ab far vilania.

A similar contrast between *cortois* and *vilain* appears in the writings of later poets as follows: Blondel de Néele (fl. end of 12th cent.), ed. Tarbé p. 40. *Perceval* (Pseudo-Gautier; after 1200), v. 12788. Guiraut de Bornelh (fl. 1175-1220), Kolsen p. 92. *L'Atre Perillous* (c. 1215-20), vv. 5100-5102. Guerin's fablel *Du chevalier qui fist les c. parler* (first third of 13th cent.), *Fabliaux* vi 147, vv. 186-8. Guerin's fablel *De la Grue, Fabliaux* v 126, vv. 11-13. Hugues de Saint-Cyr (troubadour, fl. 1200-56), Rayn. *Choix* v, p. 226. *Li respit del curteis et del vilain* (first half of 13th cent.), strophe 44. *Flamenca* (1234 or 1235), vv. 6771-5. Guillaume de Lorris, in the first part of the *Roman de la Rose* (c. 1237), ed. Michel i p. 122. The fablel *Du prestre et du chevalier,* by Milon d'Amiens (c. middle of 13th cent.), *Fabliaux* ii 34, vv. 188-9. *La Clef d'Amors* (1280), vv. 2654-6; vv. 691-2. Matfre Ermengaud, in his *Breviari d'Amor* (begun in 1288), vv. 31419-20; vv. 30971-5.

The latest dated example of the antithesis of *cortois* and *vilain* which I have found within the limits of the material examined appears in *Des Vilains et des Courtois,* by Jean de Condé, who flourished between the years 1313 and 1340, and thus had more than two centuries of courtly poetry and tradition from which to draw the conclusions he sets forth in vv. 1-3:

> Vilain et courtois sont contraire;
> De l'un ne puet on bien retraire,
> Et en l'autre n'a fors que bien.

The didactic poem *De Courtoisie,* for which I have no date, places *les curtaisies* in antithesis to *les villainies,* strengthening the contrast by paralleling it with one between cleanliness and filth (vv. 116-9):

> Plus ameretz les curtaisies
> Et lerretz les villainies.
> Plus ameretz les nectetetz,
> Les ordures enchiueretz.

Paul Meyer in *Romania* xii, p. 15, note 3, prints a North Italian *Alfabeto del villano,* whose ideas he considers to be of the middle ages, although its redaction is modern. It contains a series of insults addressed to the *vilain,* and (vv. 3-4) contrasts *cortesia* and *villania*:

> Bontà non regna in lui, ne cortesia,
> Ma sol malizia, inganni e villania.

This *Alfabeto* is especially interesting to us in that it brings the conventional expression of hatred for the *vilain,* which prevailed in mediæval courtly circles, down to modern times.

III.

THE *CORTOIS* HAS POLISHED MANNERS; THE *VILAIN* HAS RUDE MANNERS.

The distinction drawn between the *cortois* and the *vilain,* the one possessed of an agreeable and polished manner, the other rough and rude, is a fundamental one, for its cause goes back to the original social distinction between the two. The *cortois,* reared at court in the midst of the highest culture of his time, naturally acquired from his training and traditions a courtliness of bearing that was entirely foreign to the peasant, reared outside the castle walls and deprived of social intercourse on equal terms with its inmates.[1] This distinction is made the most of by the courtly poets, though its original significance with respect to social caste is often overlooked: *e.g. Du Prestre et d'Alison, Fabliaux* ii 31, vv. 23-25:

> Fille estoit à une Borgoise,
> Ainz nule n'en vi plus cortoise,
> Certes, ne de meillor manière.

(a) THE *CORTOIS* HAS POLISHED MANNERS.

Courteous treatment of ladies was an essential part of the code of manners of the *cortois.* Chrétien de Troies in *Cligés,* vv. 1349-51, says that Alixandres, as an act of *cortoisie,* gave into the queen's charge the first prisoner he took as a knight:

> Alixandres par corteisie
> Sa premiere chevalerie
> Done et presante la reïne.

In vv. 8429-32 of *Perceval,* Chrétien commends Gawain as *débonaire et cortois* for assisting a maiden to mount her palfrey. In vv. 3169-73 of *Perceval,* he terms Perceval's gentle reception of his hostess, who came to him in the night to implore his aid, *cortoisie.* In vv. 11687-99 of *Perceval* we are told how "the king, who was very *cortois* toward everyone," sent an abundance of provisions to the besieged maidens in whose behalf his aid had been solicited. In

[1] See Schultz, *Das Höfische Leben,* vol. i, pp. 155-6.

vv. 11784-98 of *Perceval* a similar act is ascribed to Kay and termed *grant cortoisie*. *La Clef d'Amors*, vv. 1037-43, says that one should praise his lady *cortoisement, i.e.* as the *cortois* does, for even if she is not beautiful she will believe the praise and rejoice at it. The attitude of the *cortois* toward his lady is summed up in the words of the lady Ydoine in her regret for her absent lover, the *cortois* Count Garsiles; Bartsch, *A. R. u. P.*, i 57, vv. 36-7:

> tant estes dous et frans, cortois et debonaire,
> c'onques riens envers moi ne vousistes mesfaire.

The *cortois* showed his breeding in his salutation. The *Roman de Thèbes*, vv. 3897-8, refers to a salutation made in the manner of the *cortois*:

> Vers lei en vait isnèlement,
> Salua la corteisement.

So also *Flamenca*, vv. 6451-3:

> Flamenca fon mout plasentiera
> Et aculli los volontiera
> E cortesamenz los saluda.[1]

The *cortois*, when in the presence of a royal person, saluted him or her first, and then the rest of the assembly. *Thèbes*, vv. 1267-70:

> Tydeüs fu proz et corteis:
> A cheval vint devant le deis,
> Le rei salue et son barnage,
> Et en après dist son message.[2]

When no royal person was present the code of *cortois* behaviour required that the person of highest rank should be first saluted, then the others present. *Du prestre et du chevalier, Fabliaux* ii 34, vv. 264-5:

> Si saluent courtoisement
> Le chevalier et se maisnie.

Vv. 3698-3700 of *L'Atre Perillous* mention the obligation resting upon the *cortois* to make a salutation first before otherwise addressing the person whom he encounters:

> Mesire Gavains li demande,
> Mais qu'il l'ot salué ancois
> Comè debonnaire et cortois.

---

[1] See also *Le Chevalier à l'Épée*, vv. 274-5; *Blancandin*, vv. 885-6; Bartsch, *A. R. u. P.*, i 70, v. 21, and ii 50, vv. 9-10.

[2] See also *Perceval*, vv. 30936-8; *Flamenca*, vv. 818-21.

Cf. also *Thèbes*, vv. 1267-1270, quoted above. It was the duty of a *cortois* person, when saluted, to make a salutation in return. *Perceval*, vv. 33065-71:

Quant Gauwains l'a bien esgardée,
Moult hautement l'a saluée
De Dieu le père omnipotent;
Le damoisele n'i atent
Ne tant ne quant, ains se leva
Et moult biel le resalua
Com cele qui moult ert cortoise.[1]

As the *cortois* saluted when meeting another person, so he took formal leave when quitting another's presence. Chrétien de Troies mentions a *cortois* leave-taking in *Lancelot*, vv. 595-9:

Li chevalier congié ont pris
Come cortois et bien apris
A la dameisele, et si l'ont
Saluee, puis si s'an vont
Si con la rote aler an virent.[2]

André le Chapelain, *De Amore*, p. 309, refers to this custom in the words, *et abeundi curialiter accepta licentia.*

When approached by a stranger, or when so concealed by armour that his identity was in doubt, the *cortois* was bound by courtly etiquette to give his name when asked for it. In vv. 1932-9 of *Lancelot* Chrétien defines the giving of one's name when it is required as *cortoisie*:

Et dist: "Sire, or ai grant anvie
Que je seüsse vostre non;
Diriiez le me vos?"—"Je non,"
Fet li chevaliers, "par ma foi."
"Certes," fet il, "ce poise moi;
Mes se vos le me disiiez,
Grant corteisie feriiez,
S'i porriiez avoir grant preu."

The remaining passages which illustrate this point appear in those portions of *Perceval* which were written by Chrétien's successors:

[1] See also *Perceval*, vv. 40799-40801; *Tydorel*, vv. 55-7.

[2] See also *Perceval*, vv. 44841-2; *Du prestre teint, Fabliaux* vi 139, vv. 278-9; *Du prestre et du chevalier, Fabliaux* ii 34, vv. 978-9.

vv. 12075-7, 23526-8, 23769-71, 24899-24904, 28248-53, 33012-15, 34322-5. The reason why it was considered *cortoisie* for a man to make known his identity is explained in vv. 6174-7 of *L'Atre Perillous,* where it is shown that unwillingness to fight with one who was unworthy prompted a man to find out the name of his opponent before beginning a combat:

> Car ice m'ensegna mon mestre
> C'a home ne me conbatisse,
> Que son non ne li enqueïsse,
> Si n'iere pas faus ne vilain.

The same reasons naturally applied to ordinary intercourse also; *ibid.,* vv. 5038-47.

The *cortois* displayed his courtesy in all his actions. When walking with a lady he went upon her right hand. *Le Chevalier à l'Épée,* vv. 263-5:

> Li ostes, qui n'ert pas vilain,
> L'a prise par la destre main,
> Si l'a en la sale amenee.

Du prestre et du chevalier, Fabliaux ii 34, v. 678:

> Biel et courtoisement l'adestre.

The manner in which he seated himself beside his lady showed his breeding. *Fabliaux* iv 108, vv. 58-59:

> Lez li s'asist cortoisement,
> Et la damoisele lez lui.

He accepted a favor graciously. *Perceval,* vv. 41614-6:

> De la reube li font présent,
> Et cil moult gentement le prist
> Cui sens et cortoisie aprist.

It was an act of *cortoisie* for a maiden to give her champion a gage to wear in the combat. *Perceval,* vv. 6794-7:

> Je vos comanc et abandon,
> Por çou que sera courtoisie,
> Que vous aucune druerie
> Li envoiés, u mance, u gimple.

Cortoisie required the recipient of the gage to treat it with respect. *Flamenca,* vv. 7792-4:

> Guillems pren la marga corren,
> Desplega la cortesamen,
> Dedins l'escut la fes pausar.

Even the most commonplace action might be performed in a way to indicate breeding. Vv. 2225-7 of *Flamenca* say that Guillem washed, then laced his sleeves *mout cortesamen,* an expression which Paul Meyer translates *élégamment.*

(b) THE *VILAIN* HAS RUDE MANNERS.

An unpolished and rude manner is attributed to the *vilain,* especially in his relations with women. In *Perceval,* vv. 6737-9, Gawain says that he would be *vilain* if he refused his aid to the *petite fille* (v. 6711):

"Certes, fait mesire Gauwains,
Dont seroie-jou trop vilains
Se sa volenté ne faisoie.

Crossing a woman's will is also the theme of vv. 38636-42 of *Perceval,* in which Gorgaris is represented as laying his hand upon the reins of Lady Damelehaut's palfrey to detain her against her wish. She says to him in remonstrance, vv. 38639-42:

. . . "Biaus sire, avoi! avoi!
N'à mon frain n'à mon palefroi
Ne metés a mon pois la main;
Car moult feriés que vilain."

In vv. 2150-4 of *Perceval,* King Arthur tells Perceval of the gross discourtesy of the Red Knight to the queen, and terms is *oevre . . vilaine.* In vv. 5210-11 of *Lancelot,* news which causes the queen to grieve is said not to be *cortoise, i.e. vilaine.* Gawain's bride, deserted by him, refers to his unceremonious departure as *grant vilenie* in vv. 1154-7 of *Le Chevalier à l'Épée.* Personal violence to women, or permitting such violence in one's presence, was considered *vilenie. Erec,* vv. 4827-31:

"Ostez, sire!" font il au conte.
"Mout devriiez avoir grant honte,
Qui ceste dame avez ferue
Por ce que ele ne manjue.
Trop grant vilenie avez feite."

Ibid., vv. 198-200:

Mout est li chevaliers vilains,
Quant il sofri que teus feiture
Feri si bele creature.[1]

[1]See also *Chevalier à l'Épée,* vv. 923-5; *Du chevalier qui fist les c. parler, Fabliaux* vi 147, vv. 152-5.

We have seen above that the *cortois* gave his name when asked for it. Refusal to name himself rendered a man liable to the charge of *vilenie*. *Perceval*, vv. 32968-9:

Je ne vos quier mon nom céler,
Que jou feroie vilounie.

L'Atre Perillous, vv. 5738-40:

Aniex seroie et vilains
Se jou à vous ni à autrui
Celoie jamais, qui je sui.

Vv. 32936-45 of *Perceval* relate how Gawain came up to Perceval, who was meditating upon the drops of blood on the snow and mentally comparing the contrasted colors with those of his lady's face, and shook him. Perceval, rudely startled from his reverie, terms Gawain's discourtesy *vilonie* (vv. 32938-41):

"Vassal, fait-il, trop grant posnée
Faites issi quant me boutés
Et desaciés et dehurtés;
Sachiés que c'est grant vilonie."

The *Roman de la Rose*, i p. 123, gives the details of the uncouth actions of an angry *vilain*:

Lors leva li vilains la hure,
Frote ses iex et ses behure,
Fronce le nés, les iex rooille,
Et fu plains d'ire et de rooille,
Quant il s'oï si mal mener.

Vv. 49-54 of *Du vilain au buffet, Fabliaux* iii 80, describe the gluttony of a *vilain*:

Et li vilains, comme porciaus,
S'encressoit, et plains ses bouciaus
Bevoit de vin en larrecin,
Maint cras chapon et maint pucin
Menja toz seus en sa despensse;
A autre honor fere ne pensse.

La Clef d'Amors, vv. 3241-4, warns against the eating of garlic alone, remarking that it is a *vilaine* thing for one to corrupt his breath.

IV.

THE *CORTOIS* IS GENTLE AND COURTEOUS IN SPEECH; THE *VILAIN* IS ROUGH IN SPEECH.[1]

(a) THE *CORTOIS* IS GENTLE AND COURTEOUS IN SPEECH.

Mediæval poetry, both French and Provençal, is full of evidence that there was a manner of speech distinctly *cortois*. As early as the *Chanson de Roland* we find references to this fact. Vv. 1164 and 3823:

> Si lur ad dit un mot curteisement:
> Curteisement a l'empereor dit.

In the 12th century similar expressions appear in *Thèbes*, v. 989; *Alexandre* (10-syll., Arsenal Ms.), Meyer i p. 45, vv. 456-7; *Erec*, v. 1207; *Lancelot*, v. 242; *Guillaume D'Angleterre*, v. 2242; *Perceval*, vv. 2792, and 9343-4; Bertrand de Born, Rayn. *Choix* iv, p. 171:

> Lo sors Enrics dis paraula corteza.

In the 13th century references to a *cortois* fashion of speech are found in the *Chevalier à l'Épée*, vv. 300-303; *L'Atre Perillous*, vv. 1273, 3073, 5505, and 6426-7; *Perceval*, vv. 15746, 10746, and 43082; *Flamenca*, vv. 6885-6, 7341-3, and 3602; *Le Roman de la Rose*, i p. 109; *Le Jugement des c.*, *Fabliaux* v 122, v. 32; the *Romanz de un chivaler*, etc., *Fabliaux* ii 50, vv. 275, 325-6, and 484; *Du prestre et du chevalier*, *Fabliaux* ii 34, vv. 797 and 1285; *La Clef d'Amors*, v. 509; *Le Breviari d'Amor*, vv. 29159-60, 30017, and 30967; *Blancandin*, vv. 587-8, 2716, and 3505-7.

Indirect evidence of the existence of a form of speech peculiar to *cortoisie*, and of its superiority, is found in the following passages. *Lancelot*, vv. 40-2:

> Si ot avuec li, ce me sanble,
> Mainte bele dame cortoise,
> Bien parlant an langue françoise.

Bernard de Ventadour, Rayn. *Choix* iii, p. 87:

> Cum es ben faitz, e ben chauzitz
> De cortezia e de bels ditz.

Tydorel, vv. 397-8; *Le sentier batu*, *Fabliaux* iii 85, vv. 33-4; Bartsch, *A. R. u. P.*, ii 72, v. 4.

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[1] This section is logically a subdivision of the preceding one.

That gentleness was a characteristic of *cortois* speech is indicated by the following passages. *Pèl. de Charlemagne,* v. 710:

Purquant si fut curteise, gente parole at dite.

Erec, vv. 4077-81:

Biaus niés Gauvains, ce dist li rois,
S'onques fustes frans ne cortois,
Alez aprés isnelemant,
Demandez amiablemant
De son estre et de son afeire.

Breviari d'Amor, quoting from Garis lo Brus, vv. 32240-1:

Cortezia es d'amar
Et es de gent parlar.[1]

An illustration of this gentleness of speech is found in passages which represent the *cortois* man as first calling down God's blessing upon the one whom he addresses, and sometimes also upon the others present. *Perceval,* vv. 12044-6:

Cortoisement et biau li dist:
"Cil Diex vos saut et gart, pucele,
Qui vos fist issi gente et bièle!"[2]

Du mantel mautaillié, Fabliaux iii 55, vv. 138-141:

Quant en la sale fu entré,
Cortoisement et biau parla:
"Cel Diex," fet il, "qui tout forma,
Saut et gart ceste compaignie."

In his ordinary conversation, also, the *cortois* man was polite and courteous. *Pèl. de Charlemagne,* vv. 716-717:

La fille fu bien cointe, e il dist que curteis:
"Dame, mult estes bele, estes fille de rei . . "

Perceval, vv. 594-8:

Li sire est contre lui venus,
Si li a dit courtoisement:
"Biaus amis, se Dex vous ament,
De vos noveles nos contés,
Des plus voires que vous savés."[3]

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[1]See also *Perceval,* vv. 3085-90; *Roman de la Rose,* i p. 41.
[2]See also *Perceval,* vv. 12037-9; *ibid.,* vv. 41373-7.
[3]See also *Perceval,* vv. 2109-13; *ibid.,* vv. 12624-7.

Jaufre, Appel, *Prov. Chrest, St.* 3, vv. 212-5:

e respondet cortesamens:
"Franc cavallier, per Dieu non sia;
vailla mi ta cavallaria,
ton pretz e ton enseinament.

Blancandin, vv. 1707-1710:

L'enfes respont par cortoisie:
"Dame, çou ne refus jou mie.
Por vostre amisté à conquerre
Vous aiderai de ceste guerre."

There is a considerable number of didactic passages which have reference to the manner of speech of the *cortois.* The *Roman de la Rose,* i p. 70, directs the man who would be *cortois* to be clean in his speech:

Après, garde que tu ne dies
Ces ors moz ne ces ribaudies;
Ja por nomer vilaine chose
Ne doit ta bouche estre desclose:
Je ne tiens pas à cortois homme
Qui orde chose et lede nomme.

Vv. 65-70, 79-80, of *De Courtoisie* advise him not to talk overmuch, and when he does open his mouth not to speak slander or in controversy. Vv. 30180-4 of the *Breviari d'Amor* warn the *cortois* lover against garrulity:

E si per lor parlairias
Perdol gaug de lor amias,
Mot grans dretz e grans rasos es,
Pueis qu'elhs so ta mal cortes
Que lor dona lor mostra orguelh.

André le Chapelain, *De Amore,* p. 65, states that slander is foreign to *cortoisie*: *Hominum nulli debet suis dictis detrahere, quia maledici intra curialitatis non possunt limina permanere.* The same idea is implied in *Li Fablel dou Dieu d'Amours,* p. 18:

Trestout se teurent, li loussignos parla:
"Signour, dist-il, cius ki bien amera,
Jà de nului, s'il puet, mesdira;
Mais preus, et sages, et cortois estera."

De Courtoisie, vv. 234-6, 240-1, instructs the *cortois* not to swear at all. Vv. 223-233 of *De Courtoisie* give him minute directions as

to his bearing when addressing another, and add that his speech should be without laughter and without oaths.

The advantages of speaking *cortoisement, i.e.* as the *cortois* does, are referred to by Blondel de Néele, ed. Tarbé p. 43, and in *Blancandin,* vv. 2403-6:

Penses de vos barons amer,
Et de cortoisement parler.
Si ne vous laisseront jamais,
Ains vous tenront la terre en pais.

The *cortois* answered when spoken to. Not to do so is characterized in *Flamenca,* vv. 6834-5, as a lack of *cortoisie*:

Es cortezia ques estez
Que vos ab mi ar nom parles?

Cf. *Perceval,* vv. 23040-3:

Se fusciés plains de cortoisie,
Quant devant moi ci trespastes
Et onques . i . mot ne parlastes,
Ce fu outrages et orgious.

(b) THE *VILAIN* IS ROUGH IN SPEECH.

The *vilain,* according to the ideals of the mediæval poets, had a manner of speech as peculiarly his own as that of the man versed in the arts of *cortoisie.* Le Comte de Poitiers, Rayn. *Choix* v, p. 118:

E que s guart en cort de parlar
Vilanamens.

Perceval, v. 2455:

Et sa langue fole et vilaine.[1]

The *vilain's* speech was rough and abusive. *Guillaume d'Angleterre,* vv. 1519-22:

Li vilains tot li reprocha
Come cil qui male boche a
Et dit et fet au pis qu'il puet
Si con de nature li muet.

Perceval, vv. 17961-3:

Lors dist mesire Brandelis
Que vilains, mais il ert maris;
L'enfant fil à putain clama.

[1]See also *Blancandin,* v. 1471; *Doctrinal le Sauvage,* stanza 19.

Fergus, vv. 478-483:

Lors commenche ses felons dis
Itels con a vilain convient.
"Fius a putain, dont vos cou vient
D'armes requerre et demander?
Bues et vaches deves garder
Comme vostre autre frere font."[1]

When the object of the *vilain's* displeasure was not present to be abused, he was slandered to others. Marie de France, *Lais, Le Fraisne*, vv. 477-479:

Jadis par ma grant vileinie
de ma veisine dis folie.
De ses dous enfanz mesparlai.

Raimond de Miravals, Rayn. *Choix* iii, p. 358:

Q'uns malapres, vilas, cobes, avars,
Outracuiatz parliers de mals parlars,
Es aculhitz enans que nos.

Perceval, vv. 19741-2:

Ne dites pas de lui folie,
Car çou seroit grans vilonie.

Le Roman de la Rose, i p. 92-93:

Mès uns vilains qui grant honte ait,
Pres d'ilecques repost s'estoit.
. . . . . .
Ne fu mie seus li gaignons,
Ainçois avoit à compaignons
Male-Bouche le gengléor,
Et avec lui Honte et Paor.[2]

The Dauphin d'Auvergne, Rayn. *Choix* iv, p. 259, extends *vilenie* to include also the truth spoken of another, providing it be of an unpleasant nature:

L'evesques me dis mal segon sa fellonia,
Et ieu li port ades honor e cortesia;
Mas s'ieu dir en volgues so qu'ieu dir en sabria,
El perdria l'evescat et ieu ma cortesia.

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[1] See also *Roman de la Rose*, i pp. 95-6; *De Florance et de Blanche Flor*, vv. 113-9; *Claris*, vv. 26570-3; *La Clef d'Amors*, vv. 2649-2656.

[2] See also *Lai d'Ignaurès*, vv. 421, 424-6; *Doctrinal le Sauvage*, stanza 15; *Claris*, vv. 24362-3; *Le Breviari d'Amor*, vv. 33656-8; *Lai d'Aristote*, *Fabliaux* v 137, vv. 20-22.

Slander seemed to the poets to be so characteristic of the *vilain* that they termed it *vilenie*. *Ille et Galeron*, vv. 1606-1610:

Illes n'ot onques jour loisir
De dire a nului vilonie
Ne ramprosne ne felonie;
N'ert mie vilains chevaliers,
N'après les armes malparliers.

Marie de France, *Lais, Guigemar*, vv. 7-11:

Mais quant il a en un païs
hume ne femme de grant pris,
cil ki de sun bien unt envie
sovent en diënt vileinie,
sun pris li vuelent abaissier.

Lancelot, vv. 412-413:

S'ot li chevaliers mout de lui
Vilenies et despiz dire.[1]

A man was looked upon as *vilain*, not only when he slandered others, but also when he allowed another to be slandered in his presence without remonstrance. *Perceval*, vv. 14965-7:

Car n'est pas courtois qui il plaist
Oïr celui ki conte et dit
Qui de france dame mesdit.

L'Atre Perillous, vv. 3731-6:

J'amai tant mon segnor Gavain,
Ke je feroie que vilain,
Se je soufroie qu'il eüst
Reproce là ù mes cors fust.
Ne se il à mort ù à vie
Estoit jetés de vilenie.[2]

To threaten too much was looked upon as characteristic of the *vilain*. *Li Fablel dou Dieu d'Amours*, p. 33:

Sire, fist-il, trop poés manechier.
Vilonie est d'omme qui tant manache.

---

[1]See also *Yvain*, pp. 2212-3; Gaucelm Faidit, Rayn. *Choix* iii, p. 294; *Dolopathos*, vv. 10167-9; *Le Breviari d'Amor*, vv. 30102-5.

[2]See also Gorra, *Le Court d'Amor*, p. 295.

The *vilain* was apt to talk too much. *Perceval,* vv. 4384-9:

Que del casti li souvenoit
Celui ki chevalier le fist,
Ki li ensegna et aprist
Que de trop parler se gardast;
Et crient, se il le demandast,
C'on le tenist à vilounie.

Gaberie (raillery, mockery) is implied to be characteristic of the *vilain* in the fabliaux. *Du Prestre et d'Alison, Fabl.* ii 31, vv. 153-5:

Fait Alizon; "C'est vilenie
De povre meschine de vie
Gaber, qui a petit avoir."[1]

V.

THE *CORTOIS* HAS *MESURE*; THE *VILAIN* LACKS *MESURE*.

(a) THE *CORTOIS* HAS *MESURE*.

The troubadour Marcabrus defines *cortezia* as the observance of *mezura,* Rayn. *Choix* iii, p. 373:

De cortezia s pot vanar
Qui ben sap mezura gardar;
E qui tot vol auzir quant es,
Ni tot quant es cuida amassar,
Del tot l'es ops a mezurar,
O ja non sera trop cortes.

The obligation resting upon the *cortois* to conduct himself with moderation is thus expressed in *De Courtoisie,* vv. 85-88:

Seietz de beau contienement,
Si vous portetz meienement,
Ne trop haut ne trop bas,
Ke nul ne pusse fere ses gas!

---

[1]See also *Du mantel mautaillié, Fabl.* iii 55, vv. 664-5; *Du vallet qui d'aise à malaise se met, Fabl.* ii 44, vv. 39-40.

[2]See Professor H. R. Lang's note on page 165 of the *Cancioneiro Gallego-Castelhano,* in which he quotes from *Las Siete Partidas* of Alphonse X of Castile a passage in which *mesure* is mentioned as one of four cardinal virtues. He also quotes, p. 166, from a French *Doctrinal* of 1287 the words: *Mesure est précioux tesmoing de san et de courtoisie.*

The ideas of *cortoisie* and *mesure* are associated in the *Breviari d'Amor,* v. 30588:

E cortes et amezuratz,

and in *L'Atre Perillous,* vv. 4997-9:

K'il avoit fait cortois et sage,
Sans vilonnie et sans outrage,
Sans orguel et sans desmesure.

The earliest example I have found of the application of the term *cortois* to those who practice moderation appears in the *Chanson de Roland,* v. 3796 ff. The statement is made, v. 3796, that *Icil d'Alverne i sunt li plus curteis;* the reason, given in the lines which follow, is that they counselled moderation in the treatment of Ganelon, because Roland was dead and the traitor's punishment, however severe, could not bring him to life. In Chrétien's *Perceval,* vv. 9497-9504, Gawain's moderate statement of his own worth is characterized by his interlocutor as *grant courtoisie*:

"Dame, dit-il, jou n'oseroie
Dire que des plus prisiés soie;
Ne me fac mie des mellors,
Ne ne quic estre des piours."
Et ele li respont: "Biaus sire,
Grant courtoisie vos oc dire
Que en vous ne metés le pris
Del mius ne del blasme le pis.

In vv. 1002-8 of *Le Chevalier à l'Épée,* Gawain is termed *cortois* and *resnable* because he exercises self-control under the influence of strong emotion:

Quant mes sire Gauvains ce voit,
Sachiez qu'il en fu mout marri
Qu'ele l'ot de son gré guerpi;
Mes tant estoit et preu et sage,
Et si cortois et si resnable,
Que onques mot ne li sona,
Ja soit ce que mout li pesa.

The *Breviari d'Amor,* vv. 33836-7, ascribes *cortezia* to all who are patient. Excess in drink is warned against in *De Courtoisie,* vv. 254-9. Contentment with one's lot is recommended in vv. 242-250 of the same work. Vv. 93-95 of *De Courtoisie* advise one to be

slow to anger when evil is spoken of him. The *cortois* gained his end by peaceful means when possible; *Erec,* vv. 4414-6.

The *cortois* is ready to pardon his enemies when they ask for mercy. *Yvain,* vv. 5784-5794:

> Merci et pes li vont requerre
> Totes les janz qui dit li orent
> Tant de honte com il plus porent,
> Si le vont einsi convoiant;
> Et il dit qu'il n'an set neant.
> "Je ne sai," fet il, "que vos dites,
> Et si vos an claim trestoz quites;
> Qu'onques chose que j'a mal taingne
> Ne deïstes, don moi sovaingne."
> Cil sont mout lié de ce qu'il öent
> Et sa corteisie mout loent.

Doctrinal Le Sauvage, strophe 48:

> Et si soit si cortois s'il en vient au deseure,
> S'on li crie merci, qu'il pardoinst en pou d'eure.[1]

In vv. 1357-62 of *Cligés,* Alixandres is termed *cortois* because of his merciful treatment of his prisoners. The quality of mercy was a commonplace in the love poetry of the troubadours, and in the following passages is mentioned together with *cortezia.* Arnaud de Marueil, Rayn. *Choix* iii, p. 212:

> E doncs, domna, valha m vostre secors,
> E vensa vos merces e cortezia.

La Comtesse de Die, Rayn. *Choix* iii, p. 22:

> Quar ieu l'am mais que nulha res que sia:
> Vas lui no m val merces ni cortezia.

(b) THE *VILAIN* LACKS *MESURE.*

In two passages the *vilain's* lack of moderation is referred to as *demesure. Erec,* vv. 1793-5, places *vilenie* and *desmesure* in the same category:

> Je suis rois, ne doi pas mantir,
> Ne vilenie consantir,
> Ne fausseté ne desmesure.

[1] See also *Perceval,* vv. 41057-60; *Bartsch, A. R. u. P.,* ii 35, vv. 19-20.

A similar association of ideas is found in the *Breviari d'Amor,* vv. 32162-6:

E devon esser lh'amador
Ardit en gardar lor onor
Ab razo e ab drechura
Contra cels c'ap demezura
Lor fan mal o vilania.

A more usual adjective descriptive of one who lacks *mesure* is the French *outrageus.* Chrétien de Troies in *Erec,* vv. 240-1, employs this adjective with *vilains*:

Le Chevalier armé dotoie,
Qui vilains est et outrageus.

L'Atre Perillous, vv. 5397-8, places the terms *outrage* and *vilenie* in the same category as synonyms. V. 9685 of *Perceval* associates the ideas of violence and *vilenie.*

Mention of the *vilain's* lack of *mesure* in specific ways is occasionally met with. V. 12706 of *Claris et Laris* attributes envy to the *vilain.* The *vilain* figures extensively as the jealous husband in the *chansons de toile.* Bartsch, *A. R. u. P.,* i 48, v. 29:

vilain plain de jalosie.

Ibid., i 25, vv. 3-6:

Kant li vilains vaint a marchiet,
il n'i vait pas por berguignier,
mais por sa feme a esgaitier,
que nuns ne li forvoie.[1]

There is, of course, another type of *desmesure,* that which appears in the *Chanson de Roland* and recalls the Homeric ὕβρις. It is clear that the kind of *desmesure* with which we are here concerned is quite different from that which prompted Roland to refuse to sound his horn and thus brought him to his tragic end.[2]

VI.

THE *CORTOIS* IS HUMBLE; THE *VILAIN* IS UNDULY PROUD.

(a) THE *CORTOIS* IS HUMBLE.

De Courtoisie, vv. 19-22, 35-6, directs those who would be *cortois* to forsake pride and learn to be humble:

[1] See also *ibid.,* i 48, vv. 17-19; i 67, vv. 3-6 and 17.

[2] Cf. Gaston Paris, *Extraits de la Chanson de Roland,* note 26 on p. 75.

Mes jamès a vostre voil
Ne vous lessetz veintre orgoil!
Cil q'est orgoillous,
Il quide tantost crestre tous,
. . . . . .
Lessetz cele vice ester,
Si apernetz de vous humilier!

Vv. 172-7 of *De Courtoisie* advise against self-praise. Vv. 955-9 of *L'Atre Perillous* refer to a *cortois* knight who in spite of his excellence was not over-proud:

Bien doit tout le monde plorer,
Car el monde n'avoit son per
De largesce et de cortoisie,
Et por sa grant cevalerie
N'astoit il nient plus orgellox.

The *Breviari d'Amor,* vv. 30971-6, implies the humility of the *cortois* when it says that it is greater *cortezia* for one's praise to be spread abroad by another than by oneself. Vv. 32312-3 of the *Breviari d'Amor* state that humility exalts the humble and the *cortois, i.e.* makes them more *cortois.* V. 19 of the fablel *De la Bourgeoise d'Orliens, Fabliaux* i 8, states that a certain *clerc* had the reputation of being a very *cortois* fellow, and the first words of v. 20 give as one reason that he *N'ert plains d'orguel.* N'Uc Brunet de Rodes, quoted in the *Breviari d'Amor,* v. 31681, associates humility with *cortoisie* in the injunction, *Sias humils e cortes.* The *Roman de la Rose* ii p. 254 furnishes another example of such association:

Quiconques tent à gentillèce,
. . . . . .
Humble cuer ait, cortois et gent.

On the other hand, vv. 11126-32 of *Perceval,* referring to Gawain, are evidence that *cortoisie* did not preclude a proper pride when dealing with the haughty:

Et pour chou si croissoit ses pris,
Moult crémoit toustans vilonie,
Vers home plain de félonie
Et renconier et orguellous
Estoit moult fiers et coragous;
Envers frans homes, pius et dous;
Contre orguelleus, fiers et estous.

(b) THE *VILAIN* IS UNDULY PROUD.

In v. 30974 of the *Breviari d'Amor*, referred to above, the word *vilania* is used in the sense of vanity, vain pride. Of indirect evidence I can quote two examples. V. 3130 of the following passage from *L'Atre Perillous* (vv. 3126-31) associates haughtiness with *vilenie*:

Et la damoisele me dist
Moult doucement au departir,
Ke se je voloie joïr
De li, ne de sa druerie,
Que d'orguel et de vilonnie
Me gardaisce et de sorfait.

V. 4847 of *L'Atre Perillous* presents the same association:

N'a orguel ni a vilonie.

VII.

THE *CORTOIS* IS CONSIDERATE OF OTHERS, IS KIND AND HOSPITABLE; THE *VILAIN* IS NOT CONSIDERATE OF OTHERS, IS CRUEL AND INHOSPITABLE.

(a) THE *CORTOIS* IS CONSIDERATE OF OTHERS, IS KIND AND HOSPITABLE.

Vv. 1847-8 of *Erec* tell how the *cortois* knight considerately thought of his host:

Erec come cortois et frans
Fu de son povre oste an espans.

Vv. 6198-6206 of the same poem narrate a considerate act on the part of Enide:

Mout fist Enide que cortoise:
Por ce que pansive la vit
Et sole seoir sor le lit,
Li prist talanz que ele iroit
A li parler, si li diroit
De son afeire et de son estre,
Et anquerroit, s'il pooit estre,
Qu'ele del suen li redeïst,
Mes que trop ne li desseïst.

Vv. 3060-3 of *Yvain* tell how the maiden who has anointed Yvain and thus restored him to his senses was careful not to startle him in his bewildered condition by revealing her identity. This con-

sideration is termed by Chrétien *san et corteisie.* Vv. 9325-33 of *Perceval* speak of an act of consideration on the part of Gawain's hostess, whose thoughtfulness is that of one *qui n'est pas wyde de courtoisie ne de sens*:

Et dist: "Ma dame vos envoie
À viestir, ains qu' ele vos voie,
Ceste reube, car ele quide
Come cele qui n'est pas wyde
De courtoisie ne de sens,
Que grans travaus et grans ahens
Et grans anuis éus avés;
Assayés-le, si le vestés,
S'ele est boine à vostre mesure. . . "

Vv. 7560-8 of *Flamenca* describe the quiet manner in which En Archimbautz entered the room where his guests were assembled. "And this," the author states, "he did through *cortesia,* being unwilling that the whole court should rise every time he came in or went out." *Le Roman de la Rose,* i p. 26, tells how Cortoisie sees the Lover standing near and invites him to join the dance:

"Biaus amis, que faites-vous la?
Fait Cortoisie, çà venez,
Et avecques nous vous prenez
A la karole, s'il vous plest."

The Lover's gratitude to Cortoisie for her act of consideration is thus expressed (*loc. cit.*):

Et sachiés que moult m'agréa
Quant Cortoisie m'en pria,
Et me dist que je karolasse;
Car de karoler, se j'osasse,
Estoie envieus et sorpris.

The fablel *Le Frere Denise* relates how a maiden has been duped by a Franciscan and taken into his order (hence the title), but is rescued by a lady, who gives her some of her own fine clothes and arranges a match between her and a knight. Vv. 308-313 (*Fabliaux* iii 87) tell how unobtrusively, and therefore *cortoisement,* she accomplishes her act of kindness:

Ele meïsmes de sa main
La vest, ansois qu'ele couchast,

Ne soffrist qu'autres i touchast,
Car privéement voloit faire
Et cortoisement son afaire;
Car sage dame et cortoize ere.

The maiden who took her mantle and groomed Perceval's horse is termed *france et cortoise* for her kindness; *Perceval,* vv. 33998-34005:

La damoisele plus ne dist,
Ains est alée, sans targier,
Jusques devant le bon diestrier
Qui ataciés ert à l'aniel;
Si le commence, à son mantiel,
À planiier et col et tieste,
Si li fait mervellouse fieste,
Que elle estoit france et cortoise.

A special kind of consideration is *cortois* hospitality, mentioned often in mediæval texts. In vv. 985-8 of *Thèbes* we read that King Adrastus, "who was not *vilains* in the least," showed his hospitality to his guests, Polynices and Tydeüs, by allowing them to converse with his beautiful daughters:

Ne fu mie vilains li reis:
De ses filles ne fist defeis
Que n'i parolent li danzel;
Pas ne l'en peise, ainz l'en est bel.

In vv. 561-9 of *Yvain,* Calogrenant tells how he returned to his hostel, the fortress in which he had been received as a guest the night before, and in spite of the fact that he had been vanquished in a fight and was coming back without horse and without armor his *cortois* host received him as hospitably as before:

Quant je ving la nuit a l'ostel,
Trovai mon oste tot autel,
Aussi lié et aussi cortois,
Come j'avoie fet einçois.
Onques de rien ne m'aparçui
Ne de sa fille ne de lui
Que mains volantiers me veïssent
Ne que mains d'enor me feïssent
Qu'il avoient fet l'autre nuit.

In vv. 4593-8 of *Yvain* the speaker tells Yvain that no *cortoise* lady would refuse hospitality to a man of his worth unless he had done her great wrong:

"Certes," fet ele, "ce me poise.
Ne taing mie por tres cortoise
La dame qui mal cuer vos porte.
Ne deüst pas veer sa porte
A chevalier de vostre pris
Se trop n'eüst vers li mespris."

In vv. 2762-7 of *Perceval* we read that Perceval's *cortois* hosts urge upon him their hospitality for a month or a year:

Quant levé furent de la table,
Li preudom, ki moult fu cortois,
Pria de remanoir .i. mois
Le varlet ki delés lui sist;
.i. an tout plain, se il vosist,
Le retenist-il volentiers.

From vv. 3279-87 of *Perceval* we may infer that it was looked upon as an act of *cortoisie* to speed the departing guest:

Vous en irés, pas ne m'en poise,
Que ne seroie pas cortoise
S'il me pesoit de nule rien;
Que poi d'onor et poi de bien
Nos vos avommes çaiens fait;
Et je pri Dieu que il vous ait
Aparellié mellor ostel,
U plus ait pain et vin et sel
Et autre bien que en cestui.[1]

(b) THE *VILAIN* IS NOT CONSIDERATE OF OTHERS, IS CRUEL AND INHOSPITABLE.

A lack of consideration for others on the part of the *vilain* is implied in vv. 442-7 of *Du mantel mautaillié*, *Fabliaux* iii 55:

[1]Additional passages illustrating the hospitality of the *cortois* are as follows: *Le Bel Inconnu*, vv. 4032-8; *Le Chevalier à l'Épée*, vv. 134-142; *Perceval*, vv. 2727-30, 2743-52, 7102-5, 28955-9, 28970-5, 36527-31, 36649-54; *Blancandin*, vv. 1227-30.

"Sire," fet il, "il m'est avis
Que nous sommes tuit molt vilain;
L'amie mon seignor Gavain,
Venelaus la preus, la cortoise,
A mon seignor Gavain en poise
De ce que trop est oubliée."

In vv. 492-6 of *Tristan,* ii p. 24, the Celtic hero is represented as thinking that he is acting *vileinement, i.e.* as a *vilain* would, in departing without finding out what has become of Queen Ysolt and Brengien:

Tristan se prent à purpenser
Que il s'en vait vileinement
Quant ne set ne quar ne coment
A la réine Ysolt estoit
Ne que Brengien la fraunche fait.

Vv. 1523-32 of *Guillaume d'Angleterre* relate how *li vilains* (cf. v. 1519) unconsciously does an act of kindness, but the poet denies him credit for it, saying that his intentions were bad:

Et neporquant de tant bien fist,
Sanz ce que garde ne s'an prist
N'a bien feire n'i antandi,
Que a l'anfant le pan randi,
Ou anvelopé le trova.
Einsi bien et mal se prova:
Mal fist selonc s'antançion,
Qu'il n'i antandi se mal non,
Et bien por ce qu'a l'anfant plot;
Einsi fist bien et si nel sot.

The cruelty of the *vilain* is often insisted upon by the mediæval poets. *Thèbes* dwells upon this characteristic in vv. 5563-9:

Mais li sergent sor lui s'aïrent,
De totes parz fort le detirent:
Entre vilains fait mal chaeir;
De rien qu'il puissent sorpoeir
N'avront ja merci li vilain.
Le chevalier ne pristrent sain:
Piéce a piéce le detrenchiérent.

Guillaume d'Angleterre in two passages gives instances of the *vilain's* lack of humanity. Vv. 1466-77:

Einsi li anfant anbedui
Se deffandent, et li vilain,
Qui mout se travaillent an vain,
A terre anbedeus les abatent
Et des poinz et des piez les batent
Chascuns le suen a son ostel.
Ains li anfant ne furent tel
Que breire osassent ne crier.
L'an ne se doit mie fier
An vilain, puis que il s'aorse,
Ne plus que an ors ou an orse:
Vilains iriez est vis maufez.

Ibid., vv. 1494-7:

Quant Marins öi le reproche,
Grant honte an ot et grant angoisse.
Et li vilains le bat et roisse
Come fel et de put affeire.

In vv. 17985-9 of *Perceval* the speaker refers to the killing of innocent children as *vilonie*:

Lors a dist: "Sire Brandelis,
Moult est biaus cis enfes petis,
Onques mais si grant vilonie
Ne fesistes en vostre vie
De si tres biel enfant tuer.[1]

Parallels of this usage of the old French poets are found in the works of Dante, who in three passages in the *Vita Nuova* refers to death as *villana* because of its cruelty. *Cap.* viii 21-22:

perché villana morte in gentil core
ha messo il suo crudele adoperare.

Cap. viii 39-42:

Morte villana, di pieta nemica,
di dolor madre antica,
giudicio incontrastabile, gravoso,
poi che hai data matera al cor doglioso.

Cap. xxiii 52-53: *Dolcissima morte, vieni a me, e non m'essere villana;* in this case the grounds for calling death cruel are the

[1]See also Marie de France, *Lais, Laustic*, vv. 114-6; *Perceval*, vv. 6820-4; *Tristan*, i p. 45; *Claris*, vv. 14023-7; Bartsch, *A. R. u. P.*, iii 34, vv. 19-25.

opposite of those in the two preceding examples. Giacomino Pulgliese addresses death in a similar manner. D'Ancona e Comparetti, *Antiche Rime,* i p. 379:

> Villana Morte, che non a' pietanza,
> Disparti Amore e tolgli l'alegranza,
> E dài cordolglio.

The inhospitality of the *vilain* is implied in the use of the adjective *vilains* in a passage in *Perceval,* vv. 16531-7:

> "Par trestous sains, çou a dit Kex,
> Voire, mais ausi m'aït Dex,
> Il ne tient pas .iii. nois de nous;
> C'est .i. chevaliers orguellous
> Qui ne nous herbergera mie
> Pour nule rien que on li die."
> Li rois dist: "Dont est moult vilains; . . . "

A similar inference may be drawn from vv. 5632-5 of *L'Escoufle,* in which the *châtelaine* of Montpellier regrets her lack of hospitality to Aelis and Ysabiaus:

> Fait la dame: "Mout ai esté
> Vers vos vilaine et desseüe,
> Ki près de moi vos ai seüe,
> Et si ne vos ai acointie . . . "

The lack of proper care for and protection of a guest is termed *vilenie* in *L'Atre Perillous,* vv. 3982-4:

> Et ce sera grans vilenie,
> Quant je sui ci en vostre garde,
> Se g'i muir par vostre mesgarde.

The *vilain's* lack of regard for the laws of hospitality is shown in vv. 17076-81 of *Perceval,* where ungracious refusal of proffered entertainment is implied on his part:

> Mais n'est pas si vilains, je croi,
> Qu'il s'en alast tant que mi frère
> Fuscent venu et li miens père;
> Car, s'il estoient repairié,
> Il l'aroient tost herbergié;
> Car plains sont de toutes bontés.

VIII.

THE *CORTOIS* IS ALWAYS READY TO HELP OTHERS; THE *VILAIN* REFUSES TO HELP OTHERS.

(a) THE *CORTOIS* IS ALWAYS READY TO HELP OTHERS.

The quality of helpfulness in the *cortois* is defined in the *Roman de la Rose*, i p. 107, as giving assistance to one who is in less fortunate circumstances than oneself:

> Cortoisie est que l'en sequeure
> Celi dont l'en est au desseure.

An illustration of this definition is found in the same poem, i p. 91, where the speaker tells how Bel-Acueil, the son of Cortoisie, allows him to pass the hedge into the garden where grows the coveted rose:

> Bel-Acueil se faisoit clamer,
> Filz fu Cortoisie la sage,
> Cis m'abandonna le passage
> De la haie moult doucement,
> Et me dist amiablement:
> "Baius amis chiers, se il vous plest,
> Passés la haie sans arrest."

Ibid., i p. 137, the act just mentioned is referred to as *grant cortoisie*. Espérance is termed *cortoise, ibid.*, i p. 86, because she sustains even a thief until the end. In vv. 2279-2281 of *Thèbes* we are told that Tydeus brought certain persons to her *que pas n'ert vilaine* (*i.e., ert cortoise*), and the reason she is thus characterized is given in the words (v. 2281), *Que por eus s'ert tant traveilliee*. In vv. 6504-9 of *Lancelot* the hero complains that the absent Gawain lacks *cortoisie* because he is not there to help him. Vv. 5430-4 of *Yvain* speak of the readiness to serve shown by a *cortoise* maiden:

> De lui servir tant s'antremet
> Qu'il an a honte et si l'an poise.
> Mes la pucele est tant cortoise
> Et tant franche et tant deboneire
> Qu' ancor an cuide ele po feire.[1]

[1]See also Marie de France, *Lais, Guigemar*, vv. 460-4; *L'Atre Perillous*, vv. 5363-71; *ibid.*, vv. 6320-31; *Flamenca*, vv. 2025-6; *Hugues Capet*, vv. 3341-3.

(b) THE *VILAIN* REFUSES TO HELP OTHERS.

The *cortois* man was ever ready to offer his services when they were needed by another, but the *vilain* is represented by the mediæval poets as refusing his aid to others. Thus the *Roman de la Rose,* i p. 68, characterizes the *vilain* as without pity and unwilling to be of service to his friends:

Vilains est fel et sans pitié,
Sans servise et sans amitié.

Another passage in the *Roman de la Rose* (i p. 40) states that Franchise was so gentle-hearted that she would think she was committing an act of great *vilonie* (*i.e.* the act of a *vilaine*) is she were not to aid one who came to grief on her account. Vv. 3878-81 of *L'Atre Perillous* term a knight *vilain* who would not aid another in his time of need:

Moult est le chevalier vilain
Et outragex, qui autre voit
D'amor de si tres grant destroit,
Si nel secort à grant besoing.

Vv. 44-48 of the fablel *De Guillaume au faucon, Fabl.* ii 35, characterize as *vileine* a woman who would not grant her distressed lover solace. *Flamenca,* vv. 5347-9, states that no *cortois* man would leave a girl to her fate without assisting her:

Tort n'auran, si cortes s'en feinon,
C'aital dompna paura estraina
Laisson murir.

IX.

THE *CORTOIS* IS GOOD, JUST, LOYAL; THE *VILAIN* IS BAD, UNJUST, UNTRUSTWORTHY.

(a) THE *CORTOIS* IS GOOD, JUST, LOYAL.

The code of ethics of the *cortois* as portrayed in mediæval French and Provençal poetry is a much higher one than that of the *vilain,* although it is not an altogether rigid one. The didactic poem *De Courtoisie* instructs those who would be *cortois* to do good; v. 90:

Lessetz las mauls, fetes le bien.

The association of doing good with *cortoisie* is met in vv. 11394-5 of *Perceval,* where it is said that King Arthur loved *cortoisie* as

no one else did, and also applied his heart to good. Giraud le Roux, Rayn. *Choix* iii, p. 10, associates *cortezia* with fear of evil:

Ara sabrai s'a ges de cortezia
En vos, dona, ni si temetz peccat.

Jacques de Cambrai, Wackernagel p. 68, associates all good qualities with *cortoisie*:

Dame, tous biens et toute cortoisie
est dedens vos . . . . .[1]

The justice and upright dealing of the *cortois* are the theme of certain other passages. In vv. 5954-8 of *Yvain* a maiden says that her sister would be doing *cortoisie* if she were to restore the property out of which she had defrauded her:

Or feroit corteisie et bien
Ma dame, ma tres chiere suer,
Que j'aim autant come mon cuer,
S'ele de mon droit me leissoit
Tant qu'antre moi et li pes soit.

In vv. 25488-91 of *Perceval*, Perceval's opponent calls him *cortois* for having thrown his own sword to the ground as soon as he saw that his adversary was disarmed and suggesting that they finish the combat with their fists:

Li chevaliers dist: "Je ne sai
Se çou est savoirs u folie,
Que vostre espée avés guerpie;
Mais moult estes preus et cortois.

Observance of that law of fair combat which prescribed that the arms of both contestants should be equal is termed *cortoisie* in *Le Chevalier à l'Épée*, vv. 928-933. Gawain, addressing a knight who has attacked him, says:

Vos veez mout bien que je n'ai
Fors sol ma lance et mon escu
Et lou branc au costé pendu.
Je vos conment a desarmer
Tant que nos soions per a per,
Si ferez mout grant cortoisie.

---

[1] A similar association of ideas is found in the following passages: *Le Breviari d'Amor*, vv. 29559-60; Bertrand d'Allamanon Ier, Rayn. *Choix* v, p. 71; *Flamenca*, v. 6483; *Cligés*, vv. 5855-7.

From vv. 3356-7 of *L'Atre Perillous* we infer that the *cortois* keeps his plighted word:

Ains li tenés son convenant;
Si ferés bien et que cortois.

To render another what belongs to him by the laws of chivalry is *cortoisie*. *Blancandin,* vv. 304-5, 309-10:

Ele est au chevalier amie
Que j'ai çà derriere laissié.
. . . . . .
Frans chevaliers, par cortoisie
Rendes au chevalier s'amie.

Less direct evidence to the same effect is found in passages in which the ideas of *cortoisie* and justice, fairness, are associated. In vv. 41135-6 of *Perceval* the adjective *vrai* is used with *cortois*:

À li respont: "Sire, ami ai,
Preu et cortois et sage et vrai, . . . "

V. 3181 of *L'Atre Perillous* associates the adjective *honerable* with *cortois*:

D'estre cortois et honerable.[1]

The loyalty of the *cortois* is implied in vv. 4084-5 of *L'Atre Perillous,* where *cortoisie* and *loiauté* are associated:

On aime le cors quant u cuer
A cortoisie et loiauté.

A similar association of ideas is met in *Lancelot,* vv. 3354-5:

Mout me troveroiz deboneire
Vers vos et leal et cortois.

A practical instance of loyalty on the part of a *cortois* person is found in the *Romanz de un chivaler,* etc., *Fabliaux* ii 50, vv. 262-9, where a maid is represented as conveying a message of love from a *clerc* to her mistress, although in doing so she is performing a service for her successful, if unwitting, rival in his affections:

Or saveit ele bien de veir
Ke failli avoit de sun espeir,

---

[1]Honor and *cortoisie* are associated also in the following passages: *L'Atre Perillous,* v. 5964; *Perceval,* vv. 41131-3; *Blancandin,* vv. 2644-6; *Du Bouchier d'Abeville, Fabliaux* iii 84, vv. 142-3; Lamberti de Bonanel, ou de Buvarel, Rayn. *Choix* v, p. 243; Marie de France, *Lais, Milun,* v. 332.

Mès tant fist ele de corteisie
Ke son messagе ne cela mie.
Dist à la dame le grant dolur
Ke li clerk suffri pur s'amur;
Requist k'ele eust de li pité,
Alast le ver, pur l'amur Dé.

Three passages form exceptions to the general rule for the uprightness of the *cortois*. Chrétien de Troies in *Erec*, vv. 3642-3, implies that a lady may be *cortoise* and at the same time deceitful:

Mout est preuz et sage et cortoise
La dame qui deceü m'a.

An implication of similar nature is found in two verses by Guillaume de Saint-Didier, Rayn. *Choix* iii, p. 300:

Ab son cuiar, o ab mentir cortes
Me tengra quay tos temps, s'a lieys plagues.

Vv. 717-22, 737-8 of *La Clef d'Amors* indicate that its author did not consider the fulfilment of a *cortois* promise necessary:

Pramet li assez de pramesses,
grosses et grandes et espesses:
de bone hore fu mis a letre
qui cortoisement soit prametre.
Assez prametre petit grieve,
et si sort le courage et lieve.
. . . . . .
Mes, quelz pramesses que tu faches,
garde bien que ne les perfaches.

(b) THE *VILAIN* IS BAD, UNJUST, UNTRUSTWORTHY.

Although the blemish of untruthfulness was permitted in the *cortois*, his general character was infinitely above that of the *vilain* as portrayed by the mediæval poets. The *vilain's* thoroughly evil reputation in courtly circles is attested by v. 165 of *Le Lai de l'Oiselet*:

Et li vilain sont li mauvais,

and by Bartsch, *A. R. u. P.*, i. 48, vv. 15-16:

james n'amera vilain,
car trop sont mauves.

In vv. 6771-5 of *Flamenca*, *mals aips* (evil character) is put in the same category with *vilania*, and is opposed to *cortesia*:

De sempre li a tot comdat
Flamenca con es avengut
D'En Archimbaut ques a perdut
Sos mals aips e sa vilania
Et a cobrada cortesia.[1]

A tendency on the part of the *vilain* to break his word is implied in three passages in which failure to keep a promise is termed *vilenie;* vv. 2209-10 of *Perceval,* giving King Arthur's words:

Vilonie est d'autrui gaber
Et de prometre sans doner;

De Courtoisie, vv. 150-5:

E pur deu gardetz vous ent bien,
Ke vous ne promettez rien,
Si vous ne voilletz doner;
Kar ceo fet le fol conforter!
Et ore ne lerra, ke nel vous die,
Certes ceo est grant vileinie;

Le Chevalier à l'Épée, vv. 1074-5, quoting Gawain's words to a knight who has broken his word:

Et Gauvains dist: "C'est vilenie
Se vos en desdites ensi.

Vv. 6768-9 of *Yvain* refer to *parjurer* as *vilainne chose.* The ideas of deception and *vilenie* are associated in v. 28777 of *Le Breviari d'Amor*:

O enguan o vilania.

A similar association of ideas is found in *Erec,* vv. 1793-5:

Je sui rois, ne doi pas mantir,
Ne vilenie consantir,
Ne fausseté ne desmesure.

Bernard de Ventadour, Rayn. *Choix* iii, p. 75, declares that *cortezia* is *vilana* in that it may give a false appearance of friendship:

Cortezia es mout vilana,
Quar aquesta falsa gens vana
Fai conoisser semblansa d'amistatz.

The injustice of the *vilain* is implied in the following cases. Vv. 2617-20 of *Blancandin* represent the hero of the poem as re-

[1]See also *Erec,* v. 2422; *Fabliaux* v 137, vv. 194-7; *Doctrinal le Sauvage,* strophe 57.

gretting his lost love, Orgilleuse, and inveighing against the injustice of the God of Love, whom he term *vilains*:

Trop est li diex d'amors vilains,
Quant si a fait foellir ces rains.
A tort sunt cil arbre flouri,
Puisque nos somes departi.

Vv. 592-4 of *L'Atre Perillous* criticise the injustice of *vilaine* death in taking the good and leaving the evil:

Ahi mors! tant par es vilaine,
Qui les bons prens tout à eslais,
Et laisces vivre les mauvais!

A passage of similar sentiment is found in *L'Escoufle,* vv. 2414-9:

N'est pas encor la mors trop ivre
Ki velt prenre si fait baron,
Ains velt faire grant mesprison;
Si fait ele, et grant vilenie,
Quant ele ensi prent et lanie
.I. preudome conme .j. mauvais.

The dishonesty of the *vilain* is mentioned in several passages. Vv. 23-6 of the *Dit sur les Vilains* declare that the *vilain* steals as much from his lord as the latter gives him:

Se tu che fa lo vilan
Al so signor chi e plan?
El no gie daria mai tanto
Ch'el no toge altretanto.

In vv. 1983-7 of *Perceval* the maiden whom Perceval found in the tent complains of his thefts, calling him *vilain*:

Mais .i. vallet galois i ot,
Anieus et vilain et sot,
Qui a de vostre vin béu,
Tant com lui plot et bon li fu,
Et manga de vos .iii. pastés.

Vv. 25-6 of Bartsch, *A. R. u. P.*, i 35, refer to the *vilain* as full of *graipaille* (thievishness). V. 6467 of *Perceval* characterizes theft as *vilain et fol.*

Testimony as to the treacherous nature of the *vilain* is found in vv. 204-8 of *Le Couronnement de Louis,* which advise against

accepting his advice on the ground that he would deceive for very little:

Et altre chose et vueil filz acointier,
Que se tu vis, il t'avra grant mestier:
Que de vilain ne faces conseillier,
Fill a prevost ne de fil a veier
Il boisereient a petit por loier.

Compare with the above v. 7774 of the *Enfances Ogier*:

Car de vilain vilain conseil a on.

In vv. 1081-4 of *Eliduc*, M. de France, *Lais*, Guilliadun complains of Eliduc, saying that he deceived her *vileinement, i. e.* as a *vilain* would have done:

Vileinement descunseilliee
m'a en altre terre laissiee.
Trahie m'a, ne sai que deit.
Mult est fole, qui hume creit!

Vv. 2661-4 of *Partonopeus de Blois* declare that the *vilain* only waits for a good opportunity to harm one of whom he is afraid. Vv. 67-74 of *Le Donnei des Amants* compare the *vilain* to a dog who wags his tail in a friendly manner and then bites:

Mastins e li vilein de but
De nature resemblent mut:
Chen de cue fet bel semblant,
Et pus si mort tut en emblant;
Moet la cue, mort de la dent,
Et li vilain fet ensement:
Quant li vileins plus vus losenge,
Gardez devers vus ne mesprenge.

Vv. 6166-7 of *Perceval* characterize *traïson* (treachery) as *laide et vilaine*. Vv. 3165-6 of *Lancelot* place *vilenie* in the same category as *träison et felenie*. Vv. 325-7 of *Du chevalier qui fist les c. parler*, *Fabliaux* vi 147, employ *vilenie* as a synonym for treachery.

The implication that the *vilain* does not fight fairly is also found. To take unfair advantage of one who has been overcome in combat is termed *vilenie* in vv. 993-9 of *Erec*:

"Ha! vassaus," fet il, "conquis m'as.
Merci! Ne m'ocirre tu pas,
Des que tu m'as outré et pris:
Ja n'an avroies los ne pris.

Se tu des or mes me tochoies,
Trop grant vilenie feroies.
Tien m'espee, je la te rant."

Folquet de Marseille, Rayn. *Choix* iii, p. 154, says that it is folly for a man to fight one stronger than himself, and that he takes a risk when he contends with one equal in strength, while to fight with one weaker than himself is *vilania*.

X.

THE *CORTOIS* IS GENEROUS; THE *VILAIN* IS STINGY.

(a) THE *CORTOIS* IS GENEROUS.

Generosity is that quality of the *cortois* which has been more generally noticed than any other by writers who have touched upon the subject of *cortoisie*. The ideas of *cortesia* and *larghezza* were so closely associated in the minds of those for whom Dante wrote that he thought it necessary to caution them against considering *cortesia* to consist in *larghezza* and nothing more. In the *Convito, tr.* ii, *c.* 11, says: *E non siano li miseri volgari anche di questo vocabolo ingannati, che credono che cortesia non sia altro che larghezza: chè larghezza è una speziale e non generale cortesia.* André le Chapelain in his *De Amore* (ed. Trojel, p. 65) recommends generosity to those who would be *cortois* in the words: *Sed et, si viderit pauperes esurire et eis alimenta praestiterit, magna curialitas atque largitas reputatur.* Prof. H. R. Lang, in a note on *Courtesy* in the *Cancioneiro Gallego-Castelhano,* vol. i p. 167, after quoting Jeanroy's definition of the term, says: "One of the most essential elements of courtesy thus conceived was liberality, beneficence. Hence Dante (*Vita Nuova, c.* xliii; cf. *Convito* iv, 20) speaks of God, the giver of all good and perfect gifts, as the *sire della cortesia,* and Petrarch, in the celebrated canzone *Italia mia,* addresses him as *Signor cortese.*"

The direct testimony in mediæval texts to the part played by generosity in *cortoisie* is considerable. Wace, *Brut,* vv. 6763-8, states that Vortiger was called *cortois* because of his generous gifts:

Tant lor a Vortiger doné
Et tant a cascuns honoré
N'i ot un sol qui ne déist,
Oiant qui oïr le volsist,

Que Vortiger ert plus cortois
Et mius vaillans que n'ert li rois.

In another passage in the same poem (vv. 1605-6) Wace says:

Et Anor fut li plus cortoise
Et mius sot démener ricoise.

The author's view of a *cortois* use of wealth has been shown in the lines previously quoted, and we have no difficulty in recognizing the implication of liberality here. Chrétien de Troies, in *Erec,* vv. 3181-5, gives an instance of Erec's generosity, for which he calls him *cortois*:

Quant mangié orent et beü,
Erec cortois et larges fu.
Amis, fet il, an guerredon
Vos faz d'un de mes chevaus don.
Prenez celui qui miauz vos siet!

Marie de France in the lay of *Milun,* vv. 322-332, describing Milun, says that he became acquainted with wealthy knights, and jousted with them, invariably coming off conqueror; and that all he gained in ransoms he gave to his poor friends, and maintained them, spending liberally. Then in v. 332 she sums up all his excellences in the words, *mult fu curteis, mult sot honur.* The author of *De Courtoisie,* in vv. 128-9, admonishes those who would be *cortois* to learn to give well. In *Gaydon,* vv. 10822-4, we are told in the words of the King of France that he gives the great seneschalship of "sweet France" to Gaydon. Thereupon Duke Naynmes exclaims: *C'est assez cortoisie.* In vv. 2510-5 of *L'Atre Perillous* we are told of a knight who *n'ert pas vilain,* and the explanation of his implied *cortoisie* follows:

Ki fist au matin atorner,
Quant il vit qu'il durent monter,
Un palefroi moult ricement,
Tout en ert fres l'acesmement,
Li lorains, li frains et la sele.

The author of *Flamenca,* in a passage too long to be quoted here (vv. 1745-1768), tells of the extreme generosity of Guillem de Nivers *lo cortes* (v. 1761). He not only gave rich gifts to his friends, but they felt perfectly free to lodge where they liked and live high at his expense, and their host never spoke of payment,

so sure was he of being amply recompensed as soon as a tourney or a war brought Guillem de Nivers that way.[1]

There is a large amount of less direct, but still important testimony to be found in the frequent and close association of the ideas of *cortoisie* and generosity in the lines of the mediæval poets. An early example of this is to be found in Philippe de Thaün's *Bestiaire*, vv. 5-8:

> Pur l'onur d'une geme
> Ki mult est bele feme
> E est curteise e sage,
> De bones murs e large:

In this, as in many other cases, the quality of generosity is mentioned among other favorable attributes of the *cortois*. Wace, *Brut*, vv. 2727-8, speaks of one who knew how to make himself popular *Par cortoisie, et par doner*. In Chrétien de Troies' *Yvain* we find the lines (1293-7):

> De vostre enor, biaus sire chiers,
> Ne fu onques nus chevaliers
> Ne de la vostre cortoisie.
> Largesce estoit la vostre amie
> Et hardemanz vostre compainz;

and in *Cligés*, vv. 184-5:

> Meis gardez que mout soiiez larges
> Et cortois et bien afeitiez.

Two lines in Chrétien's *Erec* (1561-2),

> Ses peres est frans et cortois,
> Mes que d'avoir a petit pois,

are evidence that he considered that true *cortoisie* was not, however, limited to the wealthy class. Marie de France in the lay of *Chaitivel*, vv. 35-8, says of four Breton knights,

> Il n'aveient guaires d'eé
> mes mult erent de grant bealté

---

[1]Additional passages illustrating the generosity of the *cortois* are as follows: *Flamenca*, vv. 5284-8; Bertrand de Pujet, Rayn. *Choix* iv, p. 375 and p. 376; *Fabliaux* i 12, vv. 43-9; *ibid.*, iii 71, vv. 322-7 (cf. vv. 317-9); *ibid.*, iii 84, vv. 7-14; *ibid.*, v 136, vv. 11, 14-18; Bartsch, *A. R. u. P.*, ii 62, vv. 19-24; *ibid.*, iii 2, vv. 10-15; *ibid.*, iii 54, v. 26.

e chevalier pruz e vaillant,
large, curteis e despendant.[1]

(b) THE *VILAIN* IS STINGY.

The stinginess of the *vilain* is implied in vv. 902-4 of *Guillaume d'Angleterre,* where covetousness is termed *vilainne.* In *Li respit del curteis et del vilain,* strophe 41, we have the following direct statement:

Moult porte queor vilein
Et trop a estreit mein
Ke rien ne seet fors prendre.

In the fablel *Du chevalier qui fist les c. parler, Fabliaux* vi 147, vv. 188-170, a lack of liberality is termed *vilenie*:

Et nos avon fait vilenie,
Qui riens ne li avons doné
Dont il nos doie savoir gré.

The stinginess of the *vilain* is referred to in the *Roman de la Rose,* i p. 74:

Ne te fai tenir por aver,
Car ce te porroit moult grever;
Il est raison que li amant
Doignent du lor plus largement
Que cil vilains entule et sot.

The complaints of a woman married to a *vilain* (Bartsch, *A. R. u. P.,* i 64, vv. 15-16) are due to his miserliness:

A un vilain m'ont donee mi parent,
qui ne fet fors auner or et argent.

The fablel *Du Vilain Mire* (*Fabliaux* iii 74), vv. 1-2, and the *Fablel d'Aloul* (*ibid.,* i 24), vv. 5-6, mention a *vilain* who was *avers et c(h)iches.*

Chrétien de Troies in *Cligés,* vv. 4547-8, associates stinginess with *vilenie* in a list of undesirable qualities:

Chiches et fos et contrefeiz
Et vilains an diz et an feiz.

In *Yvain,* vv. 4381-4, we are told that no one is any longer noble or *cortois,* but that every one asks for himself that which he does

[1]See also *Tydorel,* vv. 221-4; *ibid.,* v. 454; *Perceval,* vv. 29076-9; *Fabliaux* iv 106, vv. 456-7; *Breviari d'Amor,* vv. 33794.

not for another, even though he himself has no need of it. It is against this "dog in the manger" attitude that André le Chapelain (*De Amore,* p. 122) makes the plebeian woman remonstrate with the words: *Inurbanum satis esse videtur et a bonis moribus manifeste deviare cognoscitur, si bonum, quod quisque sibi habere non potest, alteri prorsus velit denegare petenti. Inurbanum* in this connection without doubt has the same force as the French adjective *vilain.* Vv. 188-190 of the *Lai de l'Oiselet* declare that the *vilain* prefers getting money to courting ladies:

Or m'ot cil vilains pleins d'envie,
Qui aime asses mieus le denier
Qu'il ne face le donoier.

XI.

THE *CORTOIS* IS RICHLY DRESSED; THE *VILAIN* IS POORLY DRESSED.

(a) THE *CORTOIS* IS RICHLY DRESSED.

As the personal characteristics of the *cortois* were of an order superior to those of other men, so his dress was more elaborate and of finer quality. The troubadour Garis lo Brus, quoted in the *Breviari d'Amor,* vv. 32238-9, thus defines *cortoisie*:

Cortezi' es en gent garnir
Et en gent aculhir.

N'Arnaut Guilhem de Marsan in his *Ensenhamen,* Appel, *Prov. Chrest., St.* 112, vv. 9-16, says that the wearing of fine white shirts gives to an excellent knight the appearance of *cortoisie*:

Car totz pros cavayers
deu vestir a sobriers
camizas de ransan
primas, car ben estan,
e blancas totas vetz,
que mielhs en semblaretz
cortes et ensenhatz
en totz locx on venhatz.

Vv. 26749-53 of *Perceval* speak of one hundred *cortoises* maidens who were richly clad:

Bien i avoit .c. damoisièles,
Avenans, cortoises et bièles,
Acesmées de riche atour
Et viestues d'une coulour
De samis à bendes d'orfrois.

Le Chevalier à l'Épée, vv. 37-46, describes the attitre of a knight who "clothed himself in the manner of the *cortois*":

Cortoisement s'aparella:
Uns esperons a or chauça
Sor unes chauces decopees
De drap de soie bien ovrees;
Si ot unes braies chauciees,
Mout tres blanches et mout dougiees,
Et chemise gascorte et lee
De lin menuement ridee,
Et un mantel afublé:
Mout richement fu atorné.

The *Lai du Trot,* vv. 77-86, mentions a group of maidens *Ki cortoises furent et beles, S'estoient molt bien acesmées;* upon their heads they wore chaplets of roses and of eglantine. *L'Atre Perillous,* vv. 3752-4, refers to a maiden who was *Et cortoise et bien acesmée.*

(b) THE *VILAIN* IS POORLY DRESSED.

Evidence upon this point is chiefly negative, although inferences may be drawn from those passages in which the generally uncouth appearance of the *vilain* is described (see pp. 76-7). Negative evidence is found in those passages in which one who is richly dressed, or finely equipped, is said not to be *vilain,* or not to resemble a *vilain. Énéas,* vv. 1495-9:

conreez fu le Troïën,
com por aler en bois, molt bien:
le cuivre al col, l'arc en la main,
ne resemblot de rien vilain;
ce vos semblast que fust Febus.

Marie de France, *Lais, Lanval,* vv. 175-7:

Quant il fu vestuz de nuvel,
suz ciel nen ot plus bel dancel;
n'esteit mie fols ne vileins.

Amadas et Ydoine, vv. 1698-9:

Com cil qui n'est mie vilains,
Ot un blans gans de Castiaudun.

Perceval, vv. 28635-41:

Atant est d'une cambre issue
Une dame ki fu viestue
D'une escarlate teinte en graine;
Trop me seroit anuis et paine
De la biauté de li escrire;
Mais tant vos puis conter et dire
Que n'estoit vilaine ne fole.

Durmart le Galois, vv. 3859-3865:

Mais ses(t) ostes qui molt fu ber
Li fist un mantel aporter
D'une escarlate clere et fine,
La penne estoit tote d'ermine.
Li Galois s'en est affiebles,
Asses fu la nuit regardes,
Ne sembla pas filz de vilain.

XII.

THE *CORTOIS* IS COURAGEOUS; THE *VILAIN* IS A COWARD.

(a) THE *CORTOIS* IS COURAGEOUS.

Direct characterizations of the *cortois* as courageous are found as follows. In Wace, *Brut,* vv. 11517-21, the first mariner is thus commended for venturing upon an unknown sea:

Mult fu hardis, mult fu cortois
Cil qui nés fist premièrement
Et en mer se mist od le vent,
Terre querre qu'il ne véoit,
Et rivage qu'il ne savoit.

Vv. 56-60 of the *Lai d'Ignaurès* tell how the hero of the lay spent a part of his *cortoise vie* at tournaments, showing his courage by jousting with many knights:

Molt demainne cortoise vie,
Et quant tornoi estoient pris,
Il i aloit querre son pris
A .xx. chevaliers u à trente,
Et si n'avoit c'un poi de rente.

The *Doctrinal le Sauvage,* stanza 28, implies the courage of the *cortois* by criticising as lacking in *cortoisie* those who are very quarrelsome, but yet are of no account in wars and in tournaments:

D'une autre gent me sui merveilliez mainte foiz
Qui font granz aatines, outrages et desroiz
Et si ne valent riens aus guerres n'aus tornoiz:
Certes, ce poise-moi qu'il ne sont plus cortois.

Hugues Capet, vv. 4792-5, characterizes death for one's lord as *cortoisie*:

Qui muert pour son signeur, il meurt en courtoissie.
Je moray liement se vous cuers s'i alye;
Car sachiez j'aime mieux, douce dame prisie,
Morir à grant honour que vivre en vilonnie.

Further testimony as to the part played by courage in *cortoisie* is given by passages in which the two ideas are associated. Wace, *Brut,* vv. 2261-4:

Hardis fu et biax et cortois,
Cil trespassa trestos les rois
Qui en Bretaigne orent esté
De hardiment et de biauté.[1]

The courage of the *cortois* was, however, not without its reasonable limits, according to Chrétien de Troies. In vv. 4326-30 of *Yvain* he represents the hero as hesitating for a moment to attack *la presse* (v. 4337), as any man who was *cortois* and intelligent might do:

Mes sire Yvains vient, si la voit
Au feu ou an la viaut ruiier,
Et ce li dut mout enuiier.
Cortois ne sages ne seroit,
Qui de rien nule an doteroit.

His hesitation was only momentary, however; cf. vv. 4337-8. The same poet, in *Yvain,* vv. 3192-5, represents *li cortois* as being over-

[1]See also *Erec,* vv. 2499-2502; Marie de France, *Lais, Milun,* vv. 13-14; *Le Breviari d'Amor,* vv. 30922-3; *Gaufrey,* vv. 3756-7.

come by Yvain, showing that though he considered the *cortois* courageous he did not consider them as necessarily invincible:

Car li cortois, li preuz, li buens,
Mes sire Yvains tot autresi
Les feisoit venir a merci
Con li faucons fet les cerceles.

(b) THE *VILAIN* IS A COWARD.

Wace mentions the faint-heartedness of the *vilain* in *Brut,* vv. 6240-1:

N'i avoit fors la vilenaille
Qui n'avoit qure de bataille,

and in the *Roman de Rou,* vv. 11195-8:

N'osoent uilain laborer,
Ne boes ioindre, ne champs arer,
Ne marcheant par uile aler,
Ne marcheandise porter.

In *Thèbes,* vv. 2779-2780, Meleagès is termed *vilains* because of his lack of courage:

Meleagès, mout iés vilains,
N'iés pas de hardement certains.

Benoit de Sainte-More speaks of the cowardice of the *vilain* in *Troie,* vv. 6040-2:

N'i a vilain ne vavassor
Qui ne guerpisse son maneir,
N'en i ose uns sols remaneir.

Énéas, vv. 6888-90, uses the cowardice of the *vilain* in a comparison as if it were a well-known fact:

vos avez la teche al vilain,
ki la endreit hue son chien
o il n'osë aler por rien.

Erec, vv. 801-4, relates how the *vilainne jant* (v. 798) drew back before a knight who was armed merely with a rod:

Li cuens est venuz an la place,
As vilains vient, si les menace,
Une verge tient an sa main:
Arriers se traient li vilain.

Elie de Saint Gille, vv. 582-5, thus describes the fright of a *vilain* at the sight of carnage:

A iceste parolle .i. vilain lor est sors
Et portoit se cuingnie dont ot ovré le jor.
Quant il voit les paiens detranchiés en l'erbous,
En fuie vaut torner, car mout ot grant paour.

Cléomadès, vv. 143-8, declares that not even shame will keep the *vilain* from running away from danger:

Tel gent pour leur seignour morroient,
Là où li vilain s'en fuiroient;
Car li vilains par droit ne crient
Honte quant de vilain lieu vient;
Ne vilain ne sevent cremir
Honte, quant il cuident morir.

The fablel *De l'oustillement au vilain, Fab.* ii 43, states (vv. 87-92) in what manner the *vilain* shall arm himself to defend his land, but (vv. 111-114) advises him not to be in the front rank of the fight:

Mès gart qu'il ne soit mie
Devant à l'escremie,
Quar il feroit que fols,
S'il ert aus premiers cops.

In other passages the cowardice of the *vilain,* though not directly alleged, is implied. Guiraut de Quentinhaç, quoted in the *Breviari d'Amor,* vv. 33596-7, declares that the tendency to be easily frightened is *gran vilanatge, i.e.* very characteristic of the *vilain.* In vv. 7981-7 of *Perceval,* Gawain says that for him to weakly turn back from his undertaking would be *trop vilains.* Vv. 611-4 of *Tyolet* imply that the *vilain* would not dare to enter a tournament:

"Par foi," fet il, "sire Gauvain,
Or me tenez vos por vilain,
Qui me dites que n'os porter
Ma lance en estor por joster."

Perceval, vv. 17995-8 and 18001-2, characterizes one who shows his faint-heartedness by weeping as lacking in *cortoisie, i.e. vilain*:

"Dites-moi, fait-il, sire rois,
Vous n'estes mie si cortois
Que j'ai oï toustans conter;
Que rois ne doit mie plorer.
. . . . . .
Ploret avés et duel mené,
Foible cuer avés. . . ."

XIII.

THE *CORTOIS* IS VERSED IN THE ART OF COURTLY LOVE; THE *VILAIN* IS IGNORANT OF COURTLY LOVE.

(a) THE *CORTOIS* IS VERSED IN THE ART OF COURTLY LOVE.

The God of Love is represented as being *cortois.* Hugues Brunet, Rayn. *Choix* iii, p. 315:

> Amors, que es us esperitz cortes.

Love bears the banner of *cortoisie,* and whoever will serve him will be free from *vilenie. Le Roman de la Rose,* i p. 63:

> Qu' Amors porte le gonfanon
> De Cortoisie et la banière,
> Et si est de tele manière,
> Si dous, si frans et si gentis,
> Que quiconques est ententis
> A li servir et honorer,
> Dedans lui ne puet demorer
> Vilonnie ne mesprison,
> Ne nule mauvese aprison.

Love is accompanied by Cortoisie. Bartsch, *A. R. u. P.,* ii 2, vv. 3-6:

> . . . selonc un pandant
> trovai Bone-Amor floretes coillant,
> en sa compaignie
> Sen et Cortoisie.

To love is *cortoisie.* Marcabrus, Rayn. *Choix* iii, p. 373:

> E cortezia es d'amar.

The same idea is expressed in similar terms by Garis lo Brus, quoted in *Le Breviari d'Amor,* v. 32240, and by N'Uc de la Bachalairia, quoted in *Le Breviari d'Amor,* v. 32252. Blacas, Rayn. *Choix* iii, p. 337, represents a lover as saying that if his lady loved him as well as he loved her she would be doing *gran cortezia.* Peire Raimon de Toulouse, Rayn. *Choix* iii, p. 129, associates *cortezia* with courtly love:

> Lo jorn que sa cortezia
> Me mostret, e m fetz parer
> Un pauc d'amor ab plazer.

Chrétien de Troies in *Lancelot,* vv. 4377-8, defines *cortoisie* as service for one's lady:

> Ainz est amors et corteisie
> Quanqu'an puet feire por s'amie.

Perceval's musing over the drops of blood upon the snow and recalling his lady's face is termed by Gawain a *cortois* thought; *Perceval,* vv. 5824-5, 5828-37:

"Et jou estoie si pensis
D'un penser ki moult me plaisoit,
. . . . . .
Que devant moi, en icest leu,
avoit .iii. gotes de fresc sanc
Qui enluminoient le blanc;
En l'esgarder m'estoit avis
Que la fresce color del vis
M'amie la bièle véisse,
Ne jà partir ne m'en quesisce."
"Certes, fait mesire Gauvains,
Cis pensers n'estoit pas vilains,
Ainçois ert moult cortois et dos."

Guillaume Magret, Rayn. *Choix* iii, p. 419, speaks of love as a *cortois* disease:

Mas s'ieu muer de tan cortes mal
Cum amors es, ja no m'er grieu.

Since love was looked upon by the poets as inseparable from *cortoisie,* it was but natural that they should limit its enjoyment to the *cortois.* This notion was often expressed. *Le Breviari d'Amor,* vv. 32215-6:

Qui vol donc d'amor far son pro
Cove qu'el sia cortes.

Pierre Rogiers, Rayn. *Choix* iii, p. 35:

Et amors ten se ab los cortes.

The same thought is expressed figuratively by Marcabrus, Rayn. *Choix* v, p. 251:

Qui ses bauzia
Vol amor alberguar,
De cortezia
Deu sa maison joncar.

Chrétien de Troies, *Yvain,* vv. 21-23, lamenting the "good old times," wrote:

Car cil qui soloient amer
Se feisoient cortois clamer
Et preu et large et enorable.

The same poet, Wackernagle p. 15, says:

Nuls, sil nest cortois et saiges,
Ne puet riens damors aprendre.

The *Breviari d'Amor* insists upon this quality of *cortoisie* in a lover in three passages. Vv. 30176-9:

Quar qui es be enamorat
Deu esser cortes e celat,
Gardan se de dire folor
Si be vol aver d'est' amor.

Ibid., vv. 287-9, 297-300:

Or voil a ton estat venir,
comment tu te doiz contenir,
se vers amours veuz assener.
. . . . . .
O tout cen doiz estre cortois
des chevelz siques es ortois:
par courtoisie et par largesce
puet l'en monter en grant hautesce.

Ibid., vol. i, p. 21, *cortezia* is mentioned as one of the virtues of the tree of knowledge of good and evil which everyone must pluck who wishes to have the fruit of ladies' love. In *Le Roman de la Rose*, i p. 74, we are again told that a lover must be *cortois*:

Qui d'Amors vuet faire son mestre,
Cortois et sans orguel doit estre.

In another passage from the same work the God of Love tells the Lover that one who would kiss his lips must be *cortois; ibid.*, i p. 63. Vv. 689-694 of *La Clef d'Amors* declare that a letter to one's lady must be couched in *cortois* language, without any word of *vilanie*, if it is to touch her heart. *Las Leys d'Amors*, Appel, *Prov. Chrest.*, *St.* 124, lines 40-42, declare that one who is in love must show himself *cortes* in his actions and in his words. André le Chapelain in *De Amore*, p. 106, among his "twelve chief precepts of love" gives the following: *In omnibus urbanum te constituas et curialem.*

Certain passages mention *cortois* who are lovers. Lanfranc Cigala, Appel, *Prov. Chrest.*, *St.* 32, vv. 45-47, says of his lady:

que li cal tan cortezia
que d'un plazen ris me socor
ades quan me ve, per amor.

In vv. 2602-5 of *L'Atre Perillous* a lady speaks of a *cortois* knight who was her lover:

> Sire, fait ele, uns chevaliers
> Biax et prox et cortois et sage,
> Ki m'amena en cest boscage,
> M'amoit par amors et je lui.

In vv. 12-14 of a *pastourelle, Bartsch, A. R. u. P.,* ii 2, the speaker is represented as asking Bone-Amor, Sen and Cortoisie what true lovers are doing. They reply, *Li cortois, li lairge vont maix a noient,* thus defining lovers as the *cortois* and the generous. However, the lay of *Guigemar,* M. de France, vv. 487-492, takes exception to the steadfastness in love of certain *curteis,* whom she accordingly terms *vilain*:

> Plusur le tienent a gabeis,
> si cume cil vilain curteis,
> ki jolivent par tut le mund,
> puis se vantent de ceo que funt.
> N'est pas amurs, einz est folie
> e malvaistiez e lecherie.

Not only did the *cortois* possess those qualities which made him the lover *par excellence,* but it was his duty to love. Thus *De Courtoisie,* which contains the code of *cortoisie,* directs those who would be *cortois* to love; vv. 114-5:

> Si voil, qe vous ametz par amurs;
> Ke vous en serrez le plus prus.

Le Breviari d'Amor, vv. 27916-8, referring to the troubadour Miraval's discussion of love in his poems, says:

> Amar volc donc le cavaliers
> Et estar ves amors entiers
> Cum savis e pros e cortes.

Marie de France, *Lais, Equitan,* vv. 83-86, speaks of the uselessness of *cortoisie* without love:

> Si bele dame tant mar fust
> s'ele n'amast u dru n'eüst!
> Que devendreit sa curteisie,
> s'ele n'amast de druërie?

The *cortois* should accept proffered love, as well. Marie de France, *Lais, Eliduc,* vv. 393-6, represents Guilliadun as meditating

after having sent the message of love to Eliduc with her ring. She says:

> Unkes mes ne parlai fors ier
> e or le faz d'amer preier,
> ieo quid que il me blasmera;
> s'il est curteis, gre me savra.

Less direct evidence of the part played by love in *cortoisie* is found in certain passages where the two ideas are closely associated. *Le Breviari d'Amor,* vv. 29898 and 29931:

> Don dis l'amoros el cortes.

Cf. *Flamenca,* vv. 7649-53.

Love is represented as having the power to make a man *cortois. L'Atre Perillous,* vv. 3058-60:

> Hardi me fist comme lion
> Amors que en ses las me mist;
> Cortois et enprenant me fist.[1]

André le Chapelain grants the truth of this doctrine in *De Amore,* p. 160, where he says: *Quamvis igitur amor cogat omnes curiales exsistere.* . . .

(b) THE *VILAIN* IS IGNORANT OF COURTLY LOVE.

We have noticed above the passage in which the God of Love is spoken of as *cortois.* In a similar passage we find Bone Amor referred to in synonymous terms as *ne pas vilaine; La Chastelaine de Saint Gille, Fabliaux* i 11, vv. 284-6. In the *Roman de la Rose,* i p. 68, the God of Love directs that *vilenie* be forsaken, on pain of his displeasure, and all those who love *vilenie,* for

> Vilonnie fait li vilains,
> Por ce n'est pas drois que ge l'ains.

The *vilain,* being outside the pale of courtly love, could not be expected to comprehend the art of love. So Guilhem, comte de Peitieu, Appel, *Prov. Chrest., St.* 59, vv. 1-5, says that he who does not understand his love song, and learn it by heart, should be considered a *vilain*:

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[1]See, for additional statements to the same effect: *Blancandin,* vv. 1389-91; Pons de Capdueil, Rayn. *Choix* iii, p. 175; Guillaume de Cabestaing, *ibid.,* iii, p. 111.

Companho, faray un vers covinen,
et aura i mais de foudatz, no y a de sen,
et er totz mesclatz d'amor e de ioy e de ioven.
E tenguatz lo per vilan, qui no l'enten
o dins son cor voluntiers non l'apren.

The author of *La Clef d'Amors,* defining the purpose of his book to be that of exposing the science of love, tells the *vilains,* vv. 173-180, not to touch it, for they would but waste their time in consulting it:

Or ne le vienge nul aprendre
s'il n'a cuer amoureus et tendre:
traient soy en sus les gelous
as cuers felons et cavelous
et les vilains et les vilaines.
Telz gens i perdroient lor paines;
quer a eulz n'apartient il mie
a savoir d'amer la mestrie.

And since the *vilain* was ignorant of the science of love, it would be useless to talk to him of it. *De Florance et de Blanche Flor,* vv. 9-11:

A vileins ne à ventéors
Ne doit-on pas parler d'amors:
Mais à clers ou à chevaliers.

This ignorance in matters of love is alluded to in two passages in *pastourelles.* Bartsch, *A. R. u. P.,* iii 46, vv. 70-71:

ostez, savroit donc vilains amer?
nenil voir.

Ibid., ii 23, vv. 20-22:

si laissiez cel vilain sot,
dorenlot, c'ainz ne vos sot
bien amer ne faire joie.[1]

The *vilain,* being ignorant in matters of love, failed to recognize the evidences of it in another. Thus Énéas, in *Énéas,* vv. 9031-7, regrets that he did not recognize the fact that Lavinia loved him, and calls himself "*vilain* in love":

[1]Coarse variations of the same theme are found as follows: Bartsch, *A. R. u. P.,* i 69; *Fabliaux* iv 105, vv. 1-5; Bartsch, *A. R. u. P.,* iii 35, vv. 19-20.

Bien puis saveir des l'altre jor,
que primes fui desoz la tor,
a ce que tant me reguardot,
de si buen oil, qu'ele m'amot;
des i donc m'en aperceüsse,
se ge d'amer vilains ne fusse;
ne saveie que ce esteit.

The *vilain* was also denied the enjoyment of love. *Flamenca,* vv. 6014-6016:

Mais amoretas son corals
Don non gostan vilan ne fals
Domnejador outracujat.

Beauty was not for the *vilain's* touch. Bartsch, *A. R. u. P.,* ii 60, vv. 25-28:

Damage seroit, pastourele,
se vilains touce a ton menton.
quels ieus, quel bouce et qel mascele!
bien aferroit a un baron.

However, far from seeking love, the *vilain* is constantly represented as rejecting it. *Ille et Galeron,* vv. 3923-4:

Mais or est si que gent vilaine
Ont amours toute refusée.

Bartsch, *A. R. u. P.,* iii 9, vv. 33-35:

Quant l'oi si escondire de s'amor
erranment li pris a dire par iror
'touse n'iere mais cortois. . . . '

Ibid., ii 46, vv. 33-35:

Sire, a vous m'otroie:
trop vilainne seroie
se vos aloie refuzant.

In *Amadas et Ydoine,* vv. 1130-7, a girl laments her lover, who has died on account of her refusal of him, in the words:

Fille de roi, ne de roïne,
S'il la daignast amer d'amour,
N'eüst de lui mult grant honnour.
Trop li ai esté fière et dure,
Et orgilleuse à desmesure;
S'ai fait que folle et que dervée
Et que vilaine sourquidée,
Que non sachans et ke caitive!

Cadenet, Rayn. *Choix* iii, p. 253, says that it would be *vilania, i.e.* the act of a *vilaine,* for a girl to send her lover away before the dawn:

Quar seria
Desconoissens vilania
Qui s partria malamen
Son amic valen
De si, tro en l'alba.

Chrétien de Troies, in *Erec,* vv. 1832-4, declares it to be the act of a *vilaine* to object to being kissed:

La pucele ne fu pas fole,
Bien vost que li rois la beisast;
Vilainne fust s'il l'an pesast.

To refuse to bestow a kiss is characterized in the *Roman de la Rose,* i p. 113, as the act of a *vilaine*:

Il n'est dame ne chastelaine
Que ge ne tenisse à vilaine,
S'ele n'el daignoit aésier
D'avoir un savoreux besier.

To scorn one's lover is defined by Bernard de Ventadour, Rayn. *Choix* iii, pp. 76-77, as the act of a *vilaine*:

Mas d'aisso fai trop que vilana
Ma domna, quar aissi m soana;
Quar de l'affan no mi val amistatz,
Per qu'ieu disses que mielhs sui sos privatz.

Li Fablel dou Dieu d'Amours, p. 17, mentions the *vilain's* rejection of love:

Loussignos sire, bien fust drois et mesure,
Que jà vilains d'amisté n'eust cure.
Car se il aimme en aucune mesure,
N'est pas por li, ains est par aventure.

La Clef d'Amors, vv. 261-8, upbraids as *vilaines* all women who do not yield their love in response to the prayers of their lovers:

Toutes fames tien a vilaines
qui font perdre as amans lors paines
et qui refusent et desdiënt
ceulz qui sanz faintise les priënt.
Vilaines sont il voirement;
je le te preuve clerement:

cele est vilaine a qui l'en donne
s'amour, s'el ne le guerredonne.

Le Chevalier à l'Épée, vv. 321-3, characterizes as *vilaine* a woman who would awaken a man's love and leave it unsatisfied:

Bien set qu'el feïst que vilainne
S'el lou meïst d'amors en painne
Don il ne traissist ja a chief.

Vv. 855-861 of *Cligés* represent the speaker as referring to his lady as an arrow which has pierced him. He continues:

Par foi, c'est li maus qui me tue,
Ce est li darz, ce est li reis,
Don trop vilainemant m'ireis.
Mout sui vilains, qui m'an corroz.

The *vilain* speaks ill of love. *Li Fablel dou Dieu d'amours,* p. 17:

Sire, fait-il, che font villaine gent,
Cil qui mesdient d'amors à escient;
Se cortois fussent nel fesissent noient.

In *Perceval,* vv. 10316-22, a lady laments for her lover whose death has rendered her *vilaine, i. e.* deprived of love.

It is a significant fact that none of the French passages quoted above as bearing upon the relation of the system of courtly love to *cortoisie* occurs in a text written before about the year 1165, the earliest ones that we can date being those taken from *Énéas* and *Ille et Galeron,* while the Provençal examples begin with Guilhem, Comte de Peitieu (d. 1127). This we would expect from the fact that the ideas of the more artificial Provençal society first penetrated generally into the North with Eleanor of Poitou. They seem, however, not to have had a far-reaching effect in French literature until the time of her daughter, Mary of Champagne, whose influence Chrétien de Troies acknowledges in the first verses of *Lancelot.* We are obliged, therefore, to exclude gallantry from our definition of *cortoisie* as used by French poets writing much before Chrétien.

XIV.

THE *CORTOIS* MAY OR MAY NOT INDULGE IN GUILTY PHYSICAL LOVE; THE *VILAIN* INDULGES IN GUILTY PHYSICAL LOVE.

While considering the same general subject of love we must notice an extensive class of exceptions to the general rule for the utter separation of *vilain* and *cortois* in character and actions as they appear in the works of the poets of mediæval France, for we find upon examination of those passages which deal with physical love unsanctioned by the marriage rite that the *cortois* is culpable as well as the *vilain*. However, there are passages in which the *cortois* is represented as abstaining from indulgence in this vice, and in this confusion we have but another manifestation of the conflict between the chivalric ideals set forth by the poets of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and actual social conditions at that period. That these ideals forbade criminal intimacy between the sexes is shown by André le Chapelain, *De Amore,* p. 182: *Et purus quidem amor est, qui omnimoda dilectionis affectione duorum amantium corda coniungit. Hic autem in mentis contemplatione cordisque consistit affectu; procedit autem usque ad oris osculum lacertique amplexum et verecundum amantis nudae contactum, extremo praetermisso solatio; nam illud pure amare volentibus exercere non licet.*

(a) THE *CORTOIS* MAY OR MAY NOT INDULGE IN GUILTY PHYSICAL LOVE.

The passages in which the *cortois* is represented as rejecting guilty physical love are not many, and, strange to say, most of them are found in the fabliaux. In vv. 10-11, 15, 18-20, of *De Constant du Hamel, Fabliaux* iv 106, we are told how Lady Ysabiau, *Qui mout estoit cortoise dame,* indignantly repulses the amorous advances of a priest:

Li prestres i mist son pooir
A li requerre de s'amor;
. . . . . .
Il li donroit assez joiaus,
. . . . . .
Mès la dame n'en vout nus prendre,
Ainz dist que ja par covoitise
Ne fera au prestre servise.

In vv. 98-100, 106-119, of the same fablel, Lady Ysabiau is represented as being addressed by the forester upon her return from mass. He offers her a ring which *bien valoit .i. marc* for permission to kiss her pretty mouth, and all that this concession would involve, but she repulses him *comme cortoise,* with the words (vv. 114-119):

"Certes, sire, pas ne me poise
Se l'arc et l'anel vous remaint,
Quar nul besoing ne me soufraint
Par qoi vous m'aiez si sorprise;
Je ne vous ferai ja servise
Par vilonie que je sache. . . ."

In vv. 39-55 of *Du prestre teint, Fabliaux* vi 139, we read how a *cortoise dame* repulses the advances of a priest and drives him from the house with a cudgel:

Mès li prestre mout poi prisoit
Quantque le borjois li fesoit;
Mieus vosist gesir o sa fame,
Qui mout estoit cortoise dame,
Et fresche et avenant et bele.
Le prestre chascun jor l'apele,
De s'amour forment la requiert;
La bone dame dist ja n'iert
Qu'ele face a son mari tort,
S'el en devoit prendre la mort,
Ne vilanie ne hontage,
Et de ce a el cors grant rage
Que le prestre l'en a tant dit;
Mout le ledenge et le maudit:
Fors l'a geté de sa meson,
Et si fort le fiert d'un tison
Que pou s'en faut qu'el ne l'esfondre.

In Chrétien de Troies' *Lancelot,* vv. 4859-65, Queen Guinevere defends Kay before King Bademagu, who believes that the knight has dishonored her bed. She says Kay is so *cortois* and so loyal that such a suspicion is untenable:

Je cuit que Kes li seneschaus
Est si cortois et si leaus
Que il n'an fet mie a mescroire;
Ne je ne regiet mie an foire

Mon cors, ne n'an faz livreison.
Certes, Kes n'est mie teus hon
Qu'il me requëist tel outrage.

In vv. 15-17 of Bartsch, *A. R. u. P.*, ii 52, Putepoinne is sent about his business by a shepherdess whom he has addressed, with the words:

Vos n'estes mies cortois, sire, sachies,
qui dames et puceletes donoies.
fu de ci, ne m'aprochies!

That a man should be aware of the unfaithfulness of his wife and still permit it is characterized in vv. 73-77 of *De Connebert, Fabliaux* v 128, as unworthy of a *cortois* person:

Mais cil n'est pas cortois ne frans
Qui set que il est cous sofranz;
Puisqu'il lo set et il lo sofre,
L'an lo devroit ardoir en sofre
Trestote la premiere foie.

The inference which we are justified in drawing from the passages just quoted as to the chastity of the *cortois* is contradicted by a still larger number of passages. Thus Blanceflour was so full of *cortoisie* (*Perceval*, vv. 25040-6) that she yielded to Perceval:

Je ne vous voel mie conter
Le sourplus, se plus en i a;
Mais, se Percevaus l'en pria,
En Blancheflour ne remest mie;
Qui si plaine ert de courtoisie,
Que cose que faire vosist
Por nule rien ne desdésist.

In vv. 12118-22, 12128-31 of *Perceval* a girl is represented as yielding her person to Gawain *sans vilonie;* but they discuss love and *cortoisie* so long that she loses her virginity:

"Amis, fait-elle, à bandon
Vos mec mon cors, et vos présent
M'amour à tous jors loiaument."
"Et jel retieng, ma doce amie,
Liés et joians, sans vilonie, . . . "
. . . . . .
D'amours, de droit, de cortoisie,
Ont puis ensamble tant parlé

Et boinement ris et jué
Qu'ele a pierdu nom de pucele.

In *Du clerc qui fu repus deriere l'escrin, Fabliaux* iv 91, vv. 7-10, we are told that

En Haynau ot une bourgoise,
En une ville, assez courtoise,
Plaine de jeu et de soulas,
K'amours le tenoit en ses las;

but from vv. 56, 71-72, we learn that she was not chaste. The author may have intended to make a reservation here by the use of *assez,* as perhaps also in the following instance. *De la grue, Fabliaux* v 126, vv. 19-20:

Li vaslez fu assez cortois,
En la tor monta demenois.

His conduct with the maiden, detailed in the lines which follow, shows that he was anything but *cortois* in the sense implied in the first list of passages examined above. In vv. 558-561 of *Du mantel mautaillié, Fabliaux* iii 55, all the ladies who essayed the trial of chastity by putting on the mantle, no matter how *cortoises* they were, failed. In the *Lai d'Ignaurès* we read that twelve married ladies to whom Ignaurès has been making love (physical, cf. vv. 322-4) confess to one of their number whom they have chosen *prestre,* each naming Ignaurès as her lover. Two of them refer to him as *cortois* (see vv. 140-3 and 157-9); and, further, the poet had already stated in v. 56 that Ignaurès led a *molt cortoise vie.* Vv. 652-6 of *Le Chevalier à l'Épée* relate an experience of that universal lover, Gawain. He approaches his host's daughter "like one who was not a *vilain*" and is about to violate her when interrupted by the magic sword. Aimeric de Belenoi, Appel, *Prov. Chrest., St.* 30, vv. 17-20, laments the cruelty of his lady in the words,

qu'a penas pens e mon cor
nulh ioy, tant ai trist coratge,
quar del sieu bel cors cortes
no'm fai amistat corteza.

Vv. 1117-8, 1125-30 of *La Clef d'Amors* term it an act of *vilanie* for one to obtain a kiss from his lady and then not to "complete the *cortoisie*" by enjoying her body.

Certain passages allow the *cortois* man to enjoy guilty love providing it be not against the will of his paramour. *Perceval,* vv. 32189-99:

Si faitement com je vous di
Furent ambedui concordé;
Tant ont baisié et acolé
Que Gauwains la flour i quelli;
Mais el livre pas n'en oï
Que fust maugré la damosele
Qu'ele pierdi nom de pucele,
Ains li gréa, que mot n'en dist.
Se Gauwains forche li fesist,
Dont ne fust-il mie cortois
Et si ne fust raisons ne drois.

Cf. *ibid.,* vv. 13115-6.

(b) THE *VILAIN* INDULGES IS GUILTY PHYSICAL LOVE.

Whatever doubt may have existed in the minds of the mediæval poets as to the morality of the *cortois,* they had no doubt as to the *vilain,* but represented him consistently as immoral. In Béroul's *Tristan,* ed. Michel i p. 6, guilty love is referred to as *amor vilaine*:

Et il ont fait entendre au roi
Que vos m'amez d'amor vilaine.

In vv. 4698-4700 of *Blancandin* a girl rejects a man's improper proposals, saying that he talks like a *vilain*:

"Si me dones vo druerie,
Si vous espouserai demain."
"Oies," fet ele, "d'un vilain."

Vv. 91-98 of *La Chastelaine de Vergi* give the words of a knight who refuses the proffered secret love of the chastelaine as *desreson si vilaine et si desloial.*

So thoroughly and intimately was the idea of guilty love associated with the *vilain* in the minds of the mediæval poets that what we might call the technical expression for it was the abstract term *vilenie.* The word appears in this sense in numerous passages. *E.g.* in Thomas' *Tristan,* ed. Michel i pp. 14-15, vv. 291-4:

Ne larai, Ysolt, n'el vus die;
Vus faites mult grant vilanie,
A vostre cors hunisement,
Quant il vus aime si durement.

In *Le Chevalier à l'Épée,* vv. 550-1, are given the words of Gawain's

host, explaining to the knight that it is certain death for one who lies with her to try to possess her:

Garder l'estuet de vilenie,
Mout lou convient charroier droit.[1]

The forcing of a girl against her will, condemned in the *cortois* (see above), is referred to as a characteristic act of the *vilain*. *Roman de Troie*, vv. 14987-92:

Sovent li dit que por s'amor
Ne puet garir ne nuit ne jor:
Le mengier pert et le dormir,
Penser et lermes et sospir
Le font penser et esmaier.
Molt est vilains de li preier.

Bartsch, *A. R. u. P.*, ii 19, vv. 49-53:

ele n'en vuet mie,
mult me contralie
et dit 'nel feroie:
c'est granz vilenie
d'ome qui tant prie. . . . '

Perceval, vv. 13115-6:

Qui par force fame covoite
Il fait vilounie revoite.

That a woman should allow two men to possess her was considered by Chrétien de Troies to be *vilenie*. *Cligés*, vv. 3152-3:

Amors an li trop vilena,
Car ses cors fu a deus rantiers.

Ibid., vv. 5250-5:

Vostre est mes cuers, vostre est mes cors,
Ne ja nus par mon essanpleire
N'aprandra vilenie a feire;
Car quant mes cuers an vos se mist,
Le cors vos dona et promist
Si que autre part n'i avra.

[1]The word *vilenie* is used with the same signification also in the following passages: *Erec*, v. 1838; *Perceval*, v. 3180; *Tristan*, i p. 5; *ibid.*, i p. 108; *ibid.*, i p. 198, v. 4126; Marie de France, *Lais, Equitan*, v. 300; *ibid., Eliduc*, v. 576; *Li respit del curteis et del vilain*, strophe 10; *Un Dist que on clamme Respon*, Jubinal, *Nouv. Rec.*, i p. 177; *Fabliaux* ii 50, v. 534; *ibid.*, iii 55, vv. 678-81; *ibid.*, v 110, vv. 277-9; Bartsch, *A. R. u. P.*, ii 14, v. 52; *ibid.*, ii 55, v. 8; *ibid.*, ii 115. vv. 1-7; *ibid.*, iii 25, v. 55; *ibid.*, iii 48, vv. 51-2.

XV.

THE *CORTOIS* IS MERRY; THE *VILAIN* IS GLOOMY.

(a) THE *CORTOIS* IS MERRY.

Benoit de Sainte-More in the *Roman de Troie,* vv. 14661-4, described one of the ornaments of the chamber of beauty, the image of a girl who is *molt corteise* in that she is joyous and dances:

> L'altre pucele est molt corteise
> Car tote jor geue et enveise,
> Bale et tresche, et tunbe et salt
> Desus un pilier . . . . .

The *Roman de la Rose,* i pp. 72-73, says that love is a very *cortoise* malady, because it brings with it laughter and joy. It also declares, i p. 24, that *Léesce* (Joy personified) is not at all *vilaine* (*i.e.* is *cortoise*), but knows how to dance and enjoy herself. According to the *Breviari d'Amor,* vv. 33838-9, no man was considered to be genuinely *cortois* who was not happy and gay:

> Ni es nulhs hom cortes verais
> Si non es alegres e gais.

Instances of the association of the ideas of *cortoisie* and joy are numerous. *Le Breviari d'Amor,* vv. 31379-82, admonishes lovers to spread joy and *cortezia* everywhere:

> Pesso donc li fin amador
> De semenar verai' amor
> E gauh e domnei e solatz
> E cortezia dans totz latz.

See also *ibid.,* v. 30274 and v. 31785. Bartsch, *A. R. u. P.,* ii 97, vv. 6-8:

> bele fu et coloree,
> cortoise sage et senee,
> s'ot le cuer gai.

Passages in which the ideas of joy and *cortoisie* are closely associated are especially plentiful in the works of the troubadours.[1]

(b) THE *VILAIN* IS GLOOMY.

Le Donnei des Amants, vv. 25-32, declares that the *vilain* takes no pleasure in joy, but hates it, and always carries a mournful countenance:

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[1]See Rayn. *Choix* iii, pp. 8, 14, 236, 361, and 451; *ibid.,* v, pp. 103, 125, and 289; Appel, *Prov. Chrest., St.* 16, v. 54; *ibid., St.* 35, vv. 4-5.

Si me suvint pus al derein
Ke mut est fel quer de vilein,
E la sue vie est maudite,
Quant en joie ne se delite,
Li suens deliz n'est fors grucer,
Pendre surcilz, batre e tencer,
Aver tuz jorz morne semblant,
Haïr deduiz, joie e chant.

The same poem, vv. 57-60, mentions again the *vilain's* antipathy to joy:

Fran quer eime mut chant e joie:
Ja Deu ne doint que vilein l'oie!
Joie que nus est letuarie
Al vilein est tuche contrarie.

Le Roman de la Rose, i p. 6, referring to *Une ymage qui Vilonie Avoit non,* praises the skill of the artist who had so well depicted its *dolor* and *despit*:

Moult sot bien paindre et bien portraire
Cil qui tiex ymages sot faire;
Car bien sembloit chose vilaine,
De dolor et de despit plaine.

Not only was the *vilain* out of sympathy himself with pleasure, he was not even disposed to allow others to enjoy it. In vv. 15-18 of a *chanson de toile* by Mestre Richart de Semilli, Bartsch, *A. R. u. P.,* i 64, a *dame qui a mal mari* complains of her *vilain* husband who does not permit her to enjoy herself:

A un vilain m'ont donee mi parent,
qui ne fet fors auner or et argent,
et me fet d'ennui morir asses sovent,
qu'il ne me let joer.

XVI.

THE *CORTOIS* IS BEAUTIFUL; THE *VILAIN* IS UGLY.

(a) THE *CORTOIS* IS BEAUTIFUL.

The beauty of *cortois* persons is thus described in detail by mediæval French poets; *Le Chevalier à l'Épée,* vv. 254-62:

Je ne vos porroie a nul jor
La biauté tote ne demie
Don ele estoit plainne et garnie,
Ne je ne la voil trespasser;
Si la voil a bries moz conter.

Quanc'onques nature sot fere
Qui a cors d'ome deüst plere,
De cortoisie et de biauté,
Ot tot entor li asanblé.

Perceval, vv. 42148-54:

Car courtois estoit durement;
Et fu li plus biaus chevaliers
C'on trouvast en .xxx. miliers;
Onques si biaus, à son avis,
Ne vit ne de cors ne de vis;
La face avoit bele et vermeille
Et le cors grant à grant mervelle.

Le Roman de la Rose, i p. 41, referring to Cortoisie:

El fu clère comme la lune
Est avers les autres estoiles,
Qui ne ressemblent que chandoiles.
Faitisse estoit et avenant,
Je ne sai fame plus plaisant.
Ele ere en toutes cors bien digne
D'estre empereris ou roïne.

De Connebert, Fabliaux v 128, vv. 35-8:

La fame d'un fevre ot amée
Qui mout ert par lui renomée
Por ce qu'ele ert et bele et blanche
Et de mout cortoise sanblance.

Tyolet, vv. 696-8 (cf. vv. 399-400):

Fleur de lis ou rose novele,
Quant primes nest el tans d'esté,
Trespassoit ele de biauté.

Less direct evidence of the mediæval poets' conception of the beauty of the *cortois* is found in passages, of which there is a large number, in which the ideas of *cortoisie* and beauty are closely associated. *E.g.* Wace, *Rou,* vv. 235-7:

El pais out une pucele,
Gunnor out nun, mult par fu bele,
Bien afattie e bien curteise.

Erec, vv. 127-8:

Lez li Eric et sa pucele,
Qui mout estoit cortoise et bele.[1]

(b) THE *VILAIN* IS UGLY.

Chrétien de Troies in *Yvain,* vv. 288-302, describes at length the repulsive appearance of a *vilain* whom the *chevalier au lion* met in the forest when on his way to the fountain:

Un vilain qui ressanbloit mor,
Grant et hideus a desmesure,
(Einsi tres leide creature,
Qu'an ne porroit dire de boche),
Vi je seoir sor une çoche,
Une grant maçue an sa main.
Je m'aprochai vers le vilain,
Si vi qu'il ot grosse la teste
Plus que roncins ne autre beste,
Chevos meslez et front pelé,
S'ot plus de deus espanz de le,
Oroilles mossues et granz,
Auteus com a uns olifanz,
Les sorciz granz et le vis plat,
Danz de choete et nés de chat.

La Mule sanz Frain, v. 506, describes a *vilain* as being *trestot herupé.* We have noticed above the charming picture of Cortoisie given in the *Romàn de la Rose,* i p. 41. Compare with it the following description of Vilonie, i p. 6:

Une ymage qui Vilonie
Avoit non, revi devers destre.
. . . . . .

[1]A similar association of ideas is found in the following passages: *Erec,* vv. 823, 1504-6, 3326-7; *Lancelot,* v. 2542; *Yvain,* vv. 703-4; Marie de France, *Lais, Equitan,* vv. 55-7; *ibid., Le Fraisne,* vv. 243-4; *ibid., Les Dous Amanz,* vv. 21-22; *ibid., Milun,* vv. 23-24; *ibid., Yonec,* vv. 21-22, 101-2; Marie de France, *Fables,* lxxiv, v. 11; Bernart de Ventadour, Rayn. *Choix* iii, p. 73; Blondel de Néele, p. 69; *Perceval,* vv. 14147-8, 14258, 14281-2, 20105, 30855-6; *L'Atre Perillous,* vv. 885-6. 6505-7; Aimeric de Belenoi, Appel, *Prov. Chrest., St.* 30, v. 34; *Flamenca,* vv. 1785-7, 2215-8, 4137-9, 5848-51; *Blancandin,* vv. 2161-3, 2509-10, 3689-90; *Fabliaux* i 11, vv. 279-280; *ibid.,* iii 74, vv. 15-18; *ibid.,* iii 55, vv. 20-23; *ibid.,* v 122, vv. 89-90; *Le Breviari d'Amor,* v. 29772; Bartsch, *A. R. u. P.,* ii 16, vv. 23-4.

Bien sembloit male créature,
Et despiteuse et orguilleuse,
Et mesdisant et ramponeuse.
Moult sot bien paindre et bien portraire
Cil qui tiex ymages sot faire;
Car bien sembloit chose vilaine,
De dolor et de despit plaine.

Ibid., i p. 95, there is a description of the *vilain* Dangiers. He was tall and black and bristling, and had eyes red as fire; his nose was wrinkled and his countenance hideous. In Bartsch, *A. R. u. P.*, i 35, v. 25, a *vilain* is described as *bossus et malestrus*. Vv. 56-7 of *De Constant du Hamel, Fabliaux* iv 106, add to the characterization *gros et malostrus* a description of the unkempt and unwashed condition of a *vilain*:

Il n'est sovent rez ne tondus,
Ainz est et ors et deslavez.

Vv. 84-91 of *Du vilain au buffet, Fabliaux* iii 80, give a similar description:

Atan tez .i. vilain Raoul,
Un bouvier qui vient de charrue;
Li seneschaus cele part rue
Ses iex, s'a choisi le vilain
Qui mout estoit de lait pelain:
Deslavez ert, s'ot chief locu;
Il ot bien .L. anz vescu,
Qu'il n'avoit eü coiffe en teste.

Vv. 109-113 of *Du prestre et du chevalier, Fabliaux* ii 34, characterize *vilains* as "hideous as wolves or leopards."

An indirect reference to the ugliness of the *vilain* is found in *Yvain*, vv. 796-9:

Mes plus de çant foiz se seigna
De la mervoille que il ot,
Comant Nature feire sot
Oevre se leide et si vilainne.

XVII.

THE *CORTOIS* IS INTELLIGENT; THE *VILAIN* IS STUPID.

(a) THE *CORTOIS* IS INTELLIGENT.

The superior intelligence of the *cortois* was much insisted upon by the mediæval writers in France and Provence. *De Courtoisie*, vv. 37-43, recommends to one who would be *cortois*, wise judgment:

Après estut, qe soietz sage,
Qe ja ne facetz outrage;
Mes de tute rien qe fere deuetz
Premerement vous purpensetz,
A quel chef vous purretz trere!
S'il est bon, bien est a fere,
S'il est mal, se le lessetz!

Vv. 1357-64 of *Guillaume d'Angleterre* mention the superior intelligence of two *cortois* children:

Quant li aufant batisié furent,
Tant amanderent et tant crurent,
Quant ce vint au chief de dis anz,
N'ot el monde plus biaus anfanz,
Plus cortois ne plus afeitiez;
Qu'apris les ot et anseigniez
Bone nature qui tant vaut
Que por norreture ne faut.

In *Perceval*, vv. 7195-7201, we read of a girl who was so *cortoise* and so well instructed that she did not fear being tricked by Gawain. *Ibid.*, vv. 12093-12108 describe the artistic skill of a Saracen maiden who *moult fu cortoise* and *moult fu sage*. Vv. 376-387 of *Le Chevalier à l'Épée* give an instance of the quick-wittedness of *cortois* Gawain:

Endementres Gauvain apele
Et li a dit et conmanda
Qu'il ne s'en aut jusqu'il venra,
Et conmanda a un serjant
Que se il fait de rien sanblant,
Que il lou preignent demanois.
Gauvains, qui preuz ert et cortois,
Voit bien que remanoir l'estuet
Et q'autrement estre ne puet;
Si li avoit dit erranment
Que il n'avoit d'errer talent,
Por qu'il lo voille herbergier.

The author of *De la dame qui se venja du chevalier, Fabliaux* vi 140, v. 227, expressed the relation between intelligence and *cortoisie* in the words,

Car grant sens gist en cortoisie.

The *Breviari d'Amor,* vv. 32564-7, says that anyone might be *cortois* who had wit enough to apply his criticisms of others to himself. In *Le Court d'Amour,* Gorra, p. 296, is found the following passage in which a *cortois* churchman is represented as being so wise that he charmed his hearers by his fine reasoning:

Apres vi jou qui se leva
Un cortois canoisne rieule,
Si sage et si bien avise
Que le baillieu et ses barons
Fist liec par ses beles raisons.

The *Roman de la Rose,* i p. 41, defines the wisdom of Cortoisie as modest and not overweening:

El ne fu ne nice n'umbrage,
Mès sages auques, sans outrage.

Matfre Ermengaud, in vv. 28669-74 of the *Breviari d'Amor,* approves Aimeric de Pegulhan's praise of folly, saying he has read that a wise and *cortois* man knows how to be foolish at the proper time:

E nous ne meravilhes ges
Si N'Aimeric lauzet foles,
Quar autre savi o an dig,
Et en mans luocx o trop escrig
Que cel es savis e cortes
Que sab foleja quan luocx es.[1]

In the following passages cleverness and cunning are ascribed to the *cortois. Cligés,* vv. 3270-6:

Thessala qui servir le voit
Panse que son servise pert,
Qu'a son deseritemant sert,
Si l'an enuie mout et poise,
Puis s'apanse come cortoise
Que del boivre servir fera
Celui cui joie et preuz sera.

[1]Cf. the well-known line of Horace (*Odes* iv, 12, v. 28): *Dulce est desipere in loco.*

De Constant du Hamel, Fabliaux iv 106, vv. 512-514:

La dame, qui n'ert pas vilaine,
Le sot tant de ses diz lober
Qu'el le fist enz el baing entrer.

Des braies au cordelier, Fabliaux iii 88, vv. 6-9:

Il avint, si com j'oï dire
C'uns clers amoit une borjoise
Qui moult estoit sage et cortoise;
Mout savoit d'enging et d'aguet.

Arnaud de Marueil, Rayn. *Choix* iii, p. 199:

No sai messatge tan cortes
Ni que mielhs seles totas res.

The inference to be drawn from the foregoing passages as to the view of the mediæval poets upon the subject of the superior intelligence of the *cortois* is supported by a still larger number of passages in which the ideas of wisdom and *cortoisie* are associated. *E.g. Le Couronnement de Louis,* v. 379:

Dist l'apostoiles, qui fu corteis et sages.

Wace, *Brut,* vv. 8689-90:

Gornois un quens Cornvalois
Mult prous et saiges et cortois.

Erec, vv. 1484-5:

Qu'amie ot bele a desmesure,
Sage et cortoise et deboneire.[1]

(b) THE *VILAIN* IS STUPID.

When the mediæval poets mention the intelligence of the *vilain* as a rule they characterize him as stupid. Thus v. 1 of *De la Sorisete des Estopes, Fabliaux* iv 105:

[1]For other examples of this association see the following passages: *Erec,* v. 3315; *Cligés,* v. 2458; *Lancelot,* vv. 140-1 and 3214-5; *Yvain,* vv. 98, 1006-8, 2125, 5144, 5967; *Perceval,* vv. 508-9, 8010-3, 19866, 30290, 33246, 34798, 36116-7, 38271, 43140, 45014; *Guillaume d'Angleterre,* v. 1925; Marie de France, *Lais, Eliduc,* vv. 134, 423; *Guingamor,* v. 10; *Tyolet,* vv. 535-6; *Doon,* v. 32; *L'Atre Perillous,* vv. 87, 1670, 3846, 4490-1, 5713; *Flamenca,* vv. 1362, 2819, 6849-50; *Le Roman de la Rose,* i p. 21; *Blancandin,* vv. 22, 126, 5824 (cf. v. 5829); *Fabliaux* i 20, v. 105; *ibid.,* ii 34, v. 906; *ibid.,* ii 52, vv. 211-2; *ibid.,* iii 70, v. 91; *ibid.,* v 110, v. 8; *Le Breviari d'Amor,* vv. 31334-7, 32052-3; *De Courtoisie,* vv. 1-3; Bartsch, *A. R. u. P.,* iii 11, v. 9.

Après vos cont d'un vilain sot.

Bartsch, *A. R. u. P.*, ii 23, v. 20:

si laissiez cel vilain sot.

Ibid., i 41, vv. 39-40:

Mes maris n'estes vos mie,
mauvais vilains rasoutes.

Le Roman de la Rose, i p. 74:

Que cil vilains entule et sot:

Ibid., i p. 63:

Onques tel response n'issi
D'omme vilain mal enseignié:

Béroul in *Tristan* i p. 62 calls stupid story-tellers *vilain*:

Li contor dient que Yvain
Firent tuer, que sont vilain;
N'en sevent mie bien l'estoire.

Vv. 320-2 of *Perceval* refer to the stupidity of spoiling a good story in the telling as *grans vilonie*:

Grans vilonie est et grans honte
De si bon conte desmenbrer,
Fors ensi com il doit aler.

N'Arnaut Guilhem de Marsan in his *Ensenhamen*, Appel, *Prov. Chrest., St.* 112, vv. 55-62, directs that one should keep his eyes and hands from seeming *vilas;* and the way to do this, he says, is to keep the eyes from looking stupid and to see to it that the hands have understanding.[1]

An important class of exceptions is to be noticed in this connection, however. The mediæval poet might say what he liked concerning the lack of intelligence of the *vilain*, but he could not deny him the shrewdness and homely wit always present among the lower classes and expressed in their proverbial sayings. When these popular sayings are quoted by the poets due credit is often given to their originators. *E.g.* Philipe de Thaün, *Cumpoz*, vv. 131-8:

[1]Less direct evidence to the same effect is found in the following passages: *Yvain*, vv. 635-6; Guiraut de Calanso, Appel, *Prov. Chrest., St.* 34, v. 30. An exception is the fablel *Du vilain qui conquist paradis par plait*, *Fabliaux* iii 81; see especially vv. 148-153.

Ço dit en repruvier
Li vilains al buvier:
La pire ruelete
Criet de la charete;
Mult est la pume dure
Ki unkes ne maüre;
La verge est a preisier
Ki se laisset pleier.

Wace, *Brut*, vv. 4505-10:

Mal ferai por pis remanoir,
Ce tient li vilains à savoir,
Et un mal doit l'en bien sofrir
Por son corps de pojor garir,
Et por son anemi plaissier
Se doit l'on alcuns damagier.

Thèbes, vv. 9057-8:

Li vilains dit: "Qui glaive fait
Senz dotance a glaive revait."[1]

XVIII.

THE *CORTOIS* IS RELIGIOUS; THE *VILAIN* IS NOT RELIGIOUS.

(a) THE *CORTOIS* IS RELIGIOUS.

The didactic poem *De Cortoisie*, vv. 45-50, recommends Christian behaviour, love of one's neighbor, and love of the church:

Seietz tut jour bon crestïen,
Ametz deu sur tute rien
E vostre preome, come vous,
Tut soit il busoignous,
Et si ametz saint' Eglise
Leaument e le seruise!

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[1] Proverbs of the *vilain* thus incorporated into mediæval texts are frequently met with. The following is a list of examples: *Troie*, vv. 3787-8, 10331-2; *Floire et Blanceflor*, vv. 1425-6; *Erec*, vv. 1-3; *Roman du Comte de Poitiers*, vv. 1610-7; *Rou*, vv. 1311-2; *Eracle*, vv. 3579-82; *Cligés*, vv. 4571-4; *Lancelot* vv. 6070-9; Marie de France, *Lais, Eliduc*, vv. 61-3; *Tydorel*, vv. 105-8; *La Destruction de Rome*, vv. 151-4; Rambaud de Vaqueiras, Rayn. *Choix* v 420; *Aliscans*, p. 47; *Le Chevalier à l'Épée*, vv. 416-9, 1184-5; *Perceval*, vv. 20550-66, 33110-3. See also *Li Proverbe au Vilain*, hgg. von Adolf Tobler, Leipzig 1895.

Chrétien de Troies in *Lancelot,* vv. 1852-4, declares that a knight who entered a monastery to pray was not acting like a *vilain, i.e.* was acting the part of a *cortois* knight:

Ne fist que vilains ne que fos
Li chevaliers qui el mostier
Antra a pié por Deu proiier.

A like statement is found in vv. 1582-4 of *Blancandin*:

Et lendemain vont au mostier
Li chevalier et li provos
Qui ne fus pas vilain ne sos.

Vv. 5-13 of the *Romanz de un chivaler,* etc., *Fabliaux* ii 50, tell of the deeply religious life of a woman who never was blamed for *vilainie,* but was very *corteise*:

Sa femme estoit mult bone dame,
De vilainie n'out unkes blame;
Seinte Esglise mult amoit,
A mushter chascun jor aloit;
Par matin il i voleit estre
Bien sovent ainz ke li prestre.
Mult fu de grant religion;
A nului ne vout si bien noun.
La dame fu corteise e bele.

Vv. 6-10 of *Du Segretain ou du Moine, Fabliaux* v 123, speak of a woman who was *cortoise,* and gladly went to church:

Femme avoit tele qu'en .c. mile
Ne trouvast on si avenant,
Si courtoise ne si vaillant,
Si sage ne si bien aprise;
Volentiers aloit à l'eglise.

Vv. 19-25 of *Le Dit dou Soucretain, Fabliaux* vi 150, tell of a *cortoise* woman who went to the church to pray each day and stayed to hear the entire service:

. . . . . ot fame prise
Sage, cortoise et bien aprise,
Bien ansaigniée, preuz et sage.
Chaucun jour avoit un usage
D'aler prier à sainte eglise,
Et d'escouter tot le servise
Que li couvens si biau fasoit.

(a) THE *VILAIN* IS NOT RELIGIOUS.

The national epic furnishes us with an assertion of the exclusion of the *vilain* from monastic life. *La Chevalerie Ogier de Danemarche,* vv. 10632-4:

> Chaïns n'a moigne, bien le puis tesmoigner,
> Qui ne soit filz a gentil chevalier;
> Fils de vilain n'estra ja mes cloistriers.

Le Donnei des Amants, vv. 37-40, says that the *vilain* has nothing to do with God and the angels:

> Vilein qui est a Deu contrarie
> Mustre qu'il n'ad illuec que fere;
> Od les angeles lez e joius
> N'ad que fere vilain grosus.

In vv. 19, 24-29 of the fablel *Du Vilain qui conquist Paradis par Plait, Fabliaux* iii 81, Saint Peter is represented as excluding a *vilain* from paradise and making the general statement that no *vilain* is ever admitted there:

> Seinz Pierres, qui gardoit la porte,
> . . . . . .
> Demanda qui la conduisoit:
> "Çaienz n'a nus herbergement,
> Se il ne l'a par jugement:
> Ensorquetot, par seint Alain,
> Nos n'avons cure de vilain,
> Car vilains ne vient en cest estre."

An exception, however, is made in the case of this particular *vilain,* who is allowed to enter after he has proved that he can *bien conter sa parole* by reproaching Peter, Thomas and Paul for the sins they committed on earth and proving to God that he has himself led a good life. Vv. 8-22 of *Le Pet au Vilain, Fabliaux* iii 68, state that the *vilain,* excluded from paradise, is also shut out from hell:

> Ce di je por la gent vilaine,
> C'onques n'amerent clerc ne prestre,
> Si ne cuit pas que Diex lor preste
> En Paradis ne leu ne place.
> Onques â Jhesu Crist ne place
> Que vilainz ait herbergerie
> Avec le Fil Sainte Marie;
> Car il n'est raison ne droiture,
> Ce trovons nous en Escriture;

Paradis ne pueent avoir
Por deniers ne por autre avoir;
Et à Enfer ront il failli,
Dont li maufé sont maubailli;
Si orrez par quel mesprison
Il perdirent celle prison.

The fablel goes on to tell how the *vilain,* mistaking the place of exit of the soul from the body, commits a piece of coarseness which is resented by the damned, who hold a council and decide that thereafter no soul of *vilain* shall be received in hell. *Vilains'* souls are thereafter obliged to go and croak with the frogs in the kingdom of Audigier's father, Turgibus. Vv. 75-6 of the fablel *Du Bouchier d'Abeville, Fabliaux* iii 84, show that the *vilain,* being denied the privileges of religion, was also not received hospitably at the dwelling of a priest:

Ne ce n'est pas coustume à prestre
Que vilains hom gise en son estre.

XIX (a).

MISCELLANEOUS ATTRIBUTES OF THE *CORTOIS* (FAVORABLE).

In addition to those qualities in which he is specifically at variance with the *vilain,* still others are assigned to the *cortois* by mediæval writers, and these are also favorable. Of these the quality most often assigned to the *cortois* is that of general excellence implied in the adjective *preux* (brave, valiant, excellent). The general and favorable meaning of this term caused it to be frequently used beside the still more general term *cortois* in personal description. It is to be noticed, also, that when used with *cortois* the adjective *preux* almost always precedes it, as if to prepare the auditor or reader for the fuller connotation of the broader term. Exceptions to this usage are comparatively few; *e.g., Cligés,* v 899, v. 2985; *Perceval,* vv. 9546-7, v. 16206. The association of the adjectives *preux* and *cortois* occurs as early as the *Chanson de Roland,* v. 575:

E Oliviers li proz et li curteis.

Ibid., v. 3755, repeats the line with the change to the objective case.

In Provençal we find this association in Giraud le Roux (fl. 1140), Rayn. *Choix* iii, p. 13:'

. . . . . , dompna corteza e pros.[1]

Franchise (nobility of character) is ascribed to the *cortois* by both French and Provençal writers. Chrétien de Troies contrasts the terms *vilains* and *frans* in *Yvain,* vv. 1816-7:

Par foi, cist n'est mie vilains,
Ainz est mout frans, je le sai bien.

In *Lancelot,* v. 3966, he associates the ideas of *franchise* and *cortoisie*:

Qui mout estoit frans et cortois.[2]

In the *Roman de la Rose,* i p. 31, one of the five gold-tipped arrows carried by Dous-Regars is called Franchise, and is thus described:

. . . . . ; cele iert empenée
De Valor et de Cortoisie.

The *cortois* is described as being *debonaire* (genteel, of good character). The didactic poem *De Courtoisie* makes this quality a prime requisite (vv. 5-7):

Il couent al primor
Qe vous soietz plein de docour
E de grant deboneretez.

The *Roman de la Rose,* i p. 26, terms Cortoisie

La vaillant et la débonnaire.

The adjectives *cortois* and *debonaire* and the corresponding abstract

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[1]Examples of the association of *preux* and *cortois* in the order given are found in the following passages: *Ille et Galeron,* v. 1622; *Erec,* v. 687; *Yvain,* v. 3 and v. 6230; Marie de France, *Fabeln* lxii, v. 2; Marie de France, *Lais, Prolog,* v. 44; Guiot de Provins, Wackernagle p. 31; *Girart de Rossillon,* Appel, *Prov. Chrest., St.* 1, v. 174; *Tristan* i p. 62; *Tydorel,* v. 139; *Perceval,* vv. 9533, 15425, 15655, 17666, 20326, 29287, 35000; *Le Roman de la Rose,* i p. 84; *Fabliaux* iv 94, v. 2; *ibid.,* iii 77, v. 23; *ibid.,* v 155, v. 24; *Le Breviari d'Amor,* v. 30509, v. 31732; *Blancandin,* v. 1443.

[2]A similar association is found in the following passages: Rambaud d'Orange, Rayn. *Choix* v, p. 413; Marie de France, *Lais, Guigemar,* v. 212; *Tristan,* i p. 9; Guiraut de Bornelh, Kolsen p. 90, v. 37; Peyrols, Rayn. *Choix* v, p. 286.

terms are placed side by side in several passages: *E.g. Yvain,* v. 1307:

Come cortoise et deboneire.[1]

Great prowess is attributed to the *cortois. E.g. Yvain,* vv. 4020-3:

Qu'eles l'avoient ja mout chier,
Et cinc çanz tanz plus chier l'eüssent
Se la corteisie seüssent
Et la grant proesce de lui.[2]

XIX (b).

MISCELLANEOUS ATTRIBUTES OF THE *VILAIN* (UNFAVORABLE).

Slowness is attributed to the *vilain. Erec,* vv. 474-6:

La pucele ne tarda plus,
Qu'ele n'estoit mie vilainne;
Par le main contre mont l'an mainne.

Marie de France, *Lais, Laustic,* v. 148:

mes ne fu pas vileins ne lenz.

Lai de Doon, vv. 245-8:

"Mostre ça tost," fet il, "tes mains."
Li vallez ne fu pas vilains,
Ses ganz oste hastivement,
Andeus ses mains li mostre et tent.

The *vilain* is *fol* (mad, foolish). *Guillaume d'Angleterre,* v. 3249, characterizes the *vilain* as *mout fole beste.* In *Thèbes,* v. 5810, the ideas of *folie* and *vilenie* are associated:

N'en i a un fol ne vilain.[3]

The *vilain* is *pautoniers* (vagabond, good-for-nothing). *Du Provost à l'aumuche, Fabliaux* i 7, v. 14:

Vilains et pautonniers estoit.

Du Bouchier d'Abeville, Fabliaux iii 84, v. 96:

Pautoniers estes et vilains.

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[1]See also *Perceval,* vv. 25581-3, 27328; *Roman de la Rose,* i pp. 134 and 155.

[2]See also *Cligés,* vv. 152-3; *Perceval,* vv. 12067-9; *Melion,* vv. 11-14.

[3]See also *Yvain,* vv. 5119, 6570; *Perceval,* vv. 14395, 19002; *Claris et Laris,* v. 8580; *Blancandin,* vv. 1315, 5055.

The *vilain* is *felon* (villainous, wicked). In the *Roman de la Rose,* i p. 32, one of the five black arrows, *lédes à devise,* carried by Dous Regars

Fu apelée Vilenie;
Icele fu de félonie
Toute tainte et envenimée.

V. 24 of a *chanson de toile* by Maistre Gilles Li Viniers, Bartsch, *A. R. u. P.,* i 67, thus characterizes the *vilain*:

tant felon vilain le truis.

V. 451 of *Du prestre et du chevalier, Fabliaux* ii 34, associates the adjectives *felon* and *vilain.*

The *vilain* is low-minded. Marie de France in the Prolog to her fables, ed. Warnke, pp. 4-5, asks the reader's pardon for reproducing faithfully her original, since in doing so she may be obliged to write words of indelicate meaning and may be considered *vilaine* by some for so doing (v. 36). Vv. 280-3 of *Guillaume de Dole* contain a similar implication:

Par ceste ochoison si ont mises
Lor mains a mainte blanche cuisse:
Je ne di mie que cil puisse
Estre cortois qui plus demande.

XX.

THE *CORTOIS* IS LOVED AND ESTEEMED; THE *VILAIN* IS NOT LOVED, BUT IS DETESTED AND EXCLUDED.

(a) THE *CORTOIS* IS LOVED AND ESTEEMED.

The mediæval French and Provençal poets represented the *cortois* as possessing all admirable qualities and entirely free from any objectionable ones. Being thus the perfect knight and polished gentleman he was irresistible to the opposite sex. A number of passages may be quoted which represent a person possessed of the attributes of *cortoisie* as the object of the love of another. One or more of these attributes is usually mentioned with the general term *cortois* which includes them all. Vv. 533-6 of *Eliduc,* Marie de France, *Lais,* represent a maiden as yielding herself without reserve to one who is *sages e curteis*:

Tant estes sages e curteis,
bien avrez purveü anceis
que vus voldrez faire de mei.
Sur tute rien vus aim e crei.

In vv. 71-79 of the lay of *Guingamor,* the queen's love is offered to the *cortois* hero in the following terms:

"Guingamor, molt estes vaillans,
Preuz et cortois et avenans:
Riche aventure vos atent;
Amer pouez molt hautement.
Amie avez cortoise et bele:
Je ne sai dame ne danzele
El roiaume de sa valor
Si vos aimme de grant amor:
Bien la tenez por vostre drue."

In vv. 1491-3 of *Blancandin,* L'Orgilleuse d'Amors tells the provost that the knight would not take his daughter,

Car mult a plus cortoise amie
Arrier en son païs laissié.

In *L'Atre Perillous,* vv. 4811-3, we read that the knight Cadrès loved a girl who was *bele et cortoise*:

Or a Cadrès joie trop grant;
Car s'amie qu'il aime tant,
Et qui tant est bele et cortoise, ...

In vv. 3053-7 of the same poem are quoted the words of a man who in his youth loved a maiden,

La plus cortoise et la plus bele,
Qui soit de si à Carlion.

Not only do we find passages like the foregoing which depict a *cortois* man or *cortoise* lady as loved, but a number of examples may be cited in which is mentioned the fact that he or she is loved on account of his or her *cortoisie. Eliduc,* Marie de France, *Lais,* vv. 348-350,

Tant par est sages e curteis,
que, s'il ne m'aime par amur,
murir m'estuet a grant dolur.

Les Dous Amanz, M. de France, *Lais,* vv. 67-70:

Pur ceo que pruz fu e curteis
E que mult le preisot li reis,
li otria sa druërie,
e cil humblement l'en mercie.

Le Chevalier à l'Épée, vv. 314-7:

Tant l'ot cortoisement parler
Et tant lo voit de bones mors,
Que ele l'amast par amors
S'ele descovrir li osast.[1]

In several didactic passages *cortoisie* is named as a prime requisite for one who would be loved. Vv. 2189-2200 of *La Clef d'Amors* direct a maiden who wishes to be loved to be very careful to be

. . . . . avisee,
plesante, de bele maniere,
sage, courtoise et biau parliere,

and that in her there should be no *vilanie,*—thus making *cortoisie* and some of its most important manifestations prerequisites for gaining man's love. The *Breviari d'Amor* names similar qualities which a lady should require in a man whom she would love. Vv. 30583-9:

Dona que enten en amar
Deu tal entendedor triar
Que sia savis a cortes
Car nul autra causa non es
On convenha mielhs homs senatz
E cortes e amezuratz
Quo fai en los ditz faits d'amors:

Vv. 30749-52:

Dona donc qu'enten en amor
Deu cauzir per entendedor
Home savi, pros e cortes
Ez avinen e ben apres.

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[1]See also Marie de France, *Lais, Lanval,* vv. 113-6; Blondel de Néele, p. 42; Bartsch, *A. R. u. P.,* i 4, vv. 21-3; *Le Chevalier à l'Épée,* vv. 571-4; *Perceval,* vv. 32813-9; *Flamenca,* vv. 2960-4, 5872-5; *Blancandin,* vv. 549-53, 1997-9; *La Clef d'Amors,* vv. 617-32.

Vv. 241-4 of *La Clef d'Amors,* whose purpose was to guide a man in the choice of his lady-love, closes the list of adjectives describing the qualities she should possess with the verse,

Sage, courtoise et henorable.

Beside being loved, we find that the *cortois* was held in high esteem by those with whom he was thrown into contact. An expression of this sentiment is found in the *Roman de la Rose,* i p. 41:

Après se tenoit Cortoisie,
Qui moult estoit de tous prisie,
Si n'ere orgueilleuse ne fole.

In v. 155 of *Le Lai de l'Oiselet* the Deity's preference for *cortoisie* is stated:

Dieus aime onor et cortoisie.

Garis lo Brus, quoted in the *Breviari d'Amor,* vv. 32222-5, states that *cortoisie* is knowing how to speak and act in such a manner that one's friends are compelled to love him:

Cortezia es tals,
Si voletz saber cals,
Qui be sap dir e far
Per qu'om lo dei' amar.[1]

An important indication of the favorable attitude of the courtly poets toward the *cortois* is found in those passages in which the *cortois* is represented as being admitted to some especially desirable place, while the *vilain* is excluded. It appears that the poets did not think it necessary always to mention the admission of the *cortois,* but they never lose an opportunity of getting in a thrust at the *vilain* by mentioning his exclusion. The only example of the specific admission of the *cortois* that I am able to cite is found in *Li Fablel dou Dieu d'Amours,* p. 16:

Et s'uns cortois vausist laiens aler,
En cel vergié por son cors deporter,
Trovast la porte ouverte por entrer,
Que jà li pons n'eust soing de lever.

(b) THE *VILAIN* IS NOT LOVED, BUT IS DETESTED AND EXCLUDED.

As the *cortois* was the one eminently worthy of love, so the *vilain* was unworthy of it, and was loathed and excluded. In vv.

[1]See also Bartsch, *A. R. u. P.,* i 2, vv. 20-1; *Melion,* vv. 7-8; *Perceval,* vv 28672-5; *Le Breviari d'Amor,* vv. 30546-54; *Lecheor,* vv. 55-60.

1-11 of *Le Chevalier à l'Épée,* the author invites those who love pleasure to listen to an adventure which happened to Gawain

. qui n'ama onques nul jor
Home coart, faus ne vilain.

In vv. 745-7 of *Blancandin,* l'Orgilleuse d'Amors, who has been kissed by Blancandin and does not know who he is, grieves at the thought that he may not be *cortois*:

Que sai jou or s'il est vilains?
Trop est mes cuers de dolor plains;
Trop est cis baisiers pris en grief.

In a *chanson de toile,* Bartsch, *A. R. u. P.,* i 48, vv. 15-16, we find a lady *de grant biaute* saying that

james n'amera vilain,
car trop sont mauves.[1]

Hatred toward the *vilain* is such a commonplace in courtly poetry, and is so manifest in everything that is said concerning him, that it hardly needs special emphasis here. A verse from the fablel *De sire Hain et de Dame Anieuse, Fabliaux* i 6, is particularly outspoken and direct; in v. 174 Anieuse thus addresses her husband:

Vilains, dist-ele, je te haz.

Vv. 29-32, Bartsch, *A. R. u. P.,* i 27, express the loathing of the nightingale for the *vilain* who has been listening to her song:

Li rosignolez disoit:
par un pou qu'il n'enrajoit
du grant duel que il avoit,
que vilains l'avoit oi.

In a *chanson de toile* by Maistre Gilles Li Viniers, Bartsch, *A. R. u. P.,* i 67, there is a very virulent attack upon the *vilain,* in this case the husband of the woman who speaks, vv. 37-45:

Compaignete, or vos kerrai:
ja d'amors ne partirai.
et se li vilains en gronce,
saves vous ke je ferai?
jamais n'ere vers li douce
mais si bien le baterai,

[1]See also Bartsch, *A. R. u. P.,* i 72, vv. 15-16; *ibid.,* ii 57, vv. 72-84; *Fabliaux* i 11, vv. 26-7.

jamais ne mangera de pain:
chi le me foule, foule, foule,
chi le me foule le vilain.

Le Donnei des Amants, vv. 41-46, says that when the birds sing most sweetly they are but trying to provoke the *vilain*:

Li oiselet, men essiënt,
Quant il chantent plus doucement,
S'esforcent plus e seir e mein
Pur tariër le fel vilein,
E les gelus ensurquetut,
Ke joie e chant heent de but.[1]

Detested as he was, the *vilain* is represented as being excluded from desirable places to which the *cortois* is admitted, such as enchanted parks and palaces. In *Li Fablel dou Dieu d'Amours,* p. 15, such a park is described, the drawbridge over whose moat always closed of its own accord whenever a *vilain* stepped upon it:

Ains ne fust eure se vilains i venist,
Et ce fust cose que ens entrer volsist,
Oustre son gré, qant sor le pont venist,
Levast li pons, et li porte closist.

Ibid., p. 16, we are told that entrance to this park is refused to *vilains* because it belongs to the God of Love:

Chius vregiés ert as vilains en defors,
Car c'ert celi ki d'amors estoit rois.

Beginning with v. 13328 of *Perceval* a magic tent is described, which (vv. 13361-4) the *vilain* is prevented from entering by an image at one side of the entrance:

L'autre ymage del autre part
Ens en sa main tenoit un dart,
Jà n'i véist entrer vilain
Ne le férist trestout à plain.

Vv. 189-191, 202-4, of *De Florance et de Blanche Flor* speak of the palace of the God of Love, entrance to which for the *vilain* is accompanied by an impossible condition:

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[1]See also Bartsch, *A. R. u. P.,* i 25, vv. 9-10, 15-18; *ibid.,* i 41, vv. 21-27; *ibid.,* i 48, vv. 29-36.

La tor virent et le palais
Qui ne fu pas de pierre fais,
Là où li Diex d'amors estoit.
. . . . . .
Jà sera vilain si os
Qu'il past le postiz de la porte,
Se le séel d'amors n'i porte.

Thèbes, vv. 2947-50, in a description of the king's tent, mentions the golden eagle upon its summit at which no *vilain* dares to look:

Li aigles d'or est a neel,
Qui est assis sor le pomel;
Onques nus hon ne vit tant cler,
Vilains ne l'ose regarder.

The courtly poets in the introductory verses of their poems often stated that they were not going to treat of the *vilain,* or of *vilenie.* For instance, the author of *Thèbes,* vv. 17-19, says:

Ne parlerai de peletiers,
Ne de vilains, ne de berchiers;
Mais de dous fréres vos dirai, . . .

The author of *Le Lai d'Aristote, Fabliaux* v 137, vv. 42-46, says he is going to tell a story

Qui bien doit estre desploïe
Et dite par rime et retraite
Sanz vilonie et sanz retraite,
Quar oevre où vilonie cort
Ne doit estre noncie à cort;

Then he goes on, vv. 47 ff., to make the general statement that he will never put any *vilenie* into his writings, and gives as his reason, vv. 52-53:

Quar vilonie si defface
Tote riens et tolt sa savor.

The author of *Guillaume de Dole* states, vv. 10-15, that his work will be unintelligible to the *vilain*:

Einsi a il chans et sons mis
En cestui romans de la Rose,
Qui est une novele chose,
Et s'est des autres si divers
Et brodez par lieus de biaus vers,
Que vilains nel porroit savoir.

One reason given by the poets why the *vilain* was thus detested is that he was *enuieus* (importunate, disagreeable, vexatious). In a *chanson de toile,* Bartsch, *A. R. u. P.,* i 48, v. 32, the *vilain* is said to be *plain d'annui. Enui* and *vilenie* are often associated. *E.g.* Rambaud d'Orange, Rayn. *Choix* v, p. 408:

Enuios, vilans, mals parliers . . . . .

Yvain, v. 90:

Enuieus estes et vilains.

Eracle, vv. 2183-4:

Li mains aprise est mout courtoise,
Sanz vilonie et sanz anui.[1]

Enuieus is contrasted with *cortois* in *Du Prestre et d'Alison, Fabliaux* ii 31, vv. 338-9:

Gardez ennuieus n'i soiez,
Mais soiez sages et cortois.

The *cortois* is warned against *enui* in *De Courtoisie,* v. 91:

Ne seietz mie enuious.

XXI.

CONCLUSIONS.

The results of the present investigation are, briefly, as follows. The *cortois* and *vilain* are represented as possessing opposite personal characteristics in French and Provençal texts at least as early as the first third of the twelfth century, and they continue to be thus represented as late as the middle of the fourteenth century. The *cortois* is pictured as being of polished manners, gentle and courteous in speech, always taking the middle course, humble, considerate in his relations with his fellows and helpful to others, upright in character, loyal, generous, wearing fine garments, courageous, a perfect lover, of a merry disposition, of fine personal appearance, possessing a high order of intelligence, and of a religious turn of mind; wherefore he was an object of admiration to the

[1]See also Bernard de Ventadour, Rayn. *Choix* iii, p. 43 and p. 65; Bertrand de Born, Rayn. *Choix* iii, p. 136; Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, Appel, *Prov. Chrest., St.* 90, vv. 28-9; *Perceval,* v. 16474; *L'Atre Perillous,* v. 5972; *Le Breviari d'Amor,* v. 10340.

opposite sex and was held in high esteem by his friends. His morals might be either loose or strict. The *vilain*, on the other hand, is represented as being of rude manners, rough in speech, apt to go to extremes, unduly proud and haughty, devoid of consideration for his fellows and unwilling to help them, wicked and untrustworthy, stingy, cowardly, ignorant of the art of courtly love, of a gloomy temperament, ugly and uncouth in personal appearance, stupid in general, though possessing a shrewd mother-wit, and destitute of religious feeling; wherefore he was an object of loathing to the opposite sex and was held in contempt by all. His morals were universally bad. In addition to the foregoing list of traits, of which those assigned to the *cortois* are almost without exception admirable and paralleled by their exact opposites attributed to the *vilain*, other miscellaneous characteristics of each are mentioned, and these are also commendable in the case of the *cortois* and reprehensible in the case of the *vilain*. The evident fact that to the *cortois* and *vilain* were consistently assigned opposite characteristics in mediæval French and Provençal poetry shows plainly that the writers of that period were conscious of a tendency to radically distinguish between them.

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